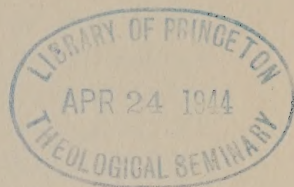


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Israel Pemberton, king of
the Quakers

ISRAEL PEMBERTON

KING of the QUAVERS



BY

Theodore Thayer

PHILADELPHIA

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P R E F A C E

From the time of its founding in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Pennsylvania made rapid gains in population and wealth, becoming within eighty years the third most populous as well as one of the wealthiest of the English colonies. As the population increased, the percentage of Quakers, who had founded the colony, steadily diminished, until they became a minority group early in the eighteenth century. However, chiefly because of the unwavering support the Quakers received from the Germans, their political leadership was never successfully challenged before 1756.

Then came the French and Indian War with serious repercussions for a province long controlled by pacifists. The war which terminated seventy-five years of peaceful relations with the Indians was a sad experience for the Quakers who refused to admit that their pacifism and failure to provide means of defense had placed the Province at the mercy of the French and Indians. Instead they attempted to fasten the blame for the Indian war upon the Proprietors for alleged land frauds but without success. Hoping to restore peace and recover their lost leadership, the pacifists organized an association for regaining the friendship of the Indians. In this, their efforts were rewarded with some success but in the long run failed in finding a basis for peace with the Indians. Although followed with much diligence, their endeavors to solve the Indian problem in its larger aspects were in advance of the time and almost doomed to certain failure.

With the advent of the American Revolution most of the leaders of the Society of Friends were unsympathetic toward the revolutionary movement and many quite openly labored to prevent independence. The pressure which they brought to bear upon Quakers who wished to support the Revolution caused them to be condemned by the Patriots. Subjected to considerable suffering for their pacifism and political views during the war, Friends found release in the thought that they were martyrs to the cause of "truth."

In no one man was Quaker leadership more fully reflected than in Israel Pemberton. His importance in relation to a study of the period has been generally overlooked by historians, and when his work has been considered at all, it has invariably been misunderstood and misinterpreted. In the story of his life no phase of the history of the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania during his time is neglected. Representing Quakerism in its strictest sense, he brought the force of a quiet but dynamic religion to bear upon the problems of the day. Although in the realm of politics much of his zeal was misdirected or contrary to the trend of the times, in most other affairs of the day he contributed not a little to the advancement of the Province.

I wish to thank the staffs of the following institutions for their helpfulness during my research for this biography: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Friends' Book Store of Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, The Ridgway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia, The Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, The New York Public Library, The New York Historical Society, The Huntington Library, Grosvenor Library, The Library of the University of Pennsylvania, Haverford College Library, The Cornell University Library, The Pennsylvania Hospital, and The Archives Division of the Department of Public Instruction at Harrisburg. Mrs. Henry J. Pemberton, Mr. Norris S. Barratt, Jr., Mr. Henry S. Drinker, and Mr. J. Henry Scattergood are also thanked for allowing me the use of their private collections of manuscripts. The very helpful suggestions regarding colonial manuscripts offered by Mr. Charles B. Montgomery are deeply appreciated. Dr. Arthur C. Bining, Dr. Leonidas Dodson, Dr. Richard H. Shryock and Mr. Charles B. Montgomery are each thanked for reading the manuscript and offering their criticism. I am especially indebted to Dr. Richard H. Shryock, Professor of American History at the University of Pennsylvania, whose seminar in early American history and whose advice and criticism have been of great help in preparing this biography as well as in seeing it through the press. I am very grateful to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania for its grant-in-aid for the printing of the book.

Theodore Thayer

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ISRAEL PEMBERTON

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

ISRAEL PEMBERTON was born in Philadelphia in the year 1715. His grandfather, Phineas Pemberton, was one of the original Quaker founders of Pennsylvania. With his wife Phoebe, Grandfather Pemberton had sailed from England in the ship *Submission* in 1682. That year he built a home beside the Delaware, a short distance above Philadelphia. Not long afterward, he purchased a tract of land in Bucks county only a few miles from the Delaware on which he built a new and better home, naming it Bolton after the village in England where he had lived.¹

At Bolton, in the year 1684, was born Israel Pemberton, senior, the father of the subject of this biography. In due time Phineas Pemberton apprenticed his son to Samuel Carpenter, a prominent Philadelphia merchant. The youth's services proved exemplary and were rewarded by a share in the business when he had completed his apprenticeship. A few years later the rising young Quaker dissolved his connection with his former master to establish a merchant house of his own.

By the time his first son, Israel, was born, Israel Pemberton, senior, was known as one of the leading merchants of Philadelphia. The family lived in a large house on Water Street which, like all the streets of the city, was but a short distance from the docks. He specialized in the importation of English cloth, but as was the custom of the time, he handled anything likely to make a profitable sale. His methods of trading were those of careful buying and skillful estimation of the possibilities of the markets. Unlike most merchants, he seldom made a purchase on credit, priding himself on

¹ The Bolton House is still standing. It was enlarged and stoned in 1790 and is now the agricultural experiment station of the University of Pennsylvania, at Emelie. See J. T. Faris, *Old Roads out of Philadelphia*, 310; J. W. Jordan, *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, I, 278.

having the money paid before the goods were shipped. Israel Pemberton, senior, was one of the masters of commerce who, in a generation, made Philadelphia the rival of Boston (a city older than the former by fifty years) as the principal port of call in the English colonies.²

Philadelphia's population increased rapidly as its commerce expanded and its hinterland became a region of flourishing farms. Few of the newcomers, however, were Quakers, causing the city rapidly to assume a cosmopolitan atmosphere. Aware that their strict religious life was endangered by new and corrupting influences, the Society of Friends labored to keep alive the religious enthusiasm inherited from the founding fathers. In 1729, the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania sent an epistle to Friends throughout the colonies exhorting them to be diligent in training their children, to read the Bible, attend the Meetings, and avoid bad company. They should dress and speak plainly and, above all, be preserved from idleness. The letter, furthermore, sharply criticized the conduct of certain Friends who made funerals and weddings occasions for hard drinking and noisy behavior.³

Israel Pemberton, senior, who lived about as close to the Quaker philosophy of life as was humanly possible, was a kind-hearted man known for his simple and pleasant manners.⁴ His wife Sarah, the daughter of Charles Read of Burlington, and sister-in-law of James Logan, the Proprietary secretary, likewise lived strictly by the tenets of the Society of Friends. Letters she has left bear an absorbing concern for the spiritual and physical welfare of others. Indeed, parental care with the Pembertons often assumed the character of indulgence. When Daniel Pastorius, a master of the Quaker school, whipped Israel Pemberton, the elder, until he was black and blue, his father promptly withdrew him from the school. The Pembertons consistently eschewed the use of corporal punishment in favor of the corrective powers of reason and kindness in bringing up their children.⁵ As a family they were also exceedingly hospitable as is

² For population comparisons see E. B. Greene, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790*, 22, 117.

³ Pemberton Papers, III, 11 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 119.

⁵ During the eighteenth century Quaker masters, in contrast to most pedagogues of the day, came to discourage the use of the rod in the schoolroom.

shown by the many letters of appreciation from friends who visited them from all parts of the English speaking world.⁶

Israel Pemberton, senior, was one of the foremost leaders in the Society of Friends of his generation. He was clerk for the various Meetings for many years and freely gave his time to the routine of his offices and the frequent and perplexing religious problems. In addition, he sat in the Pennsylvania legislature during the 1730's and the troublesome 1740's and was, perhaps, second in importance in the Quaker party to John Kinsey, who succeeded Andrew Hamilton in the speakership of the Assembly. After 1750, when the weight of years began to tell upon him, he allowed his work in the Meetings and in politics to be taken over by his sons Israel, James, and John. Israel Pemberton, senior, died in 1754.

Scant record is left of the life of Israel Pemberton, junior, for the period prior to 1740. Of his schooling, all that can be said is that he attended the Friends' School, that he learned quickly and exhibited a capacity for judgment and leadership, traits acknowledged in his later life by friends and foes alike. When he reached the age of fifteen in 1730, he was a tall, dark-haired, blue-eyed youth of slender stature. He lacked the even temper of his father and was plainly much more aggressive, but withal he possessed many of his father's good qualities such as generosity and kindness. Reared in an atmosphere of the strictest Quakerism, his habit of mind was thoroughly conditioned by religious doctrine and considerations. By the time he obtained his majority, he was a man possessing deep convictions, fortified by a strong will and determination.

Sometime in the summer of 1735, when only twenty years of age, Israel went to England on business. It was the custom for the local Meeting of the Society of Friends to issue a letter of good standing to a member preparing to visit a distant Quaker community. Consequently, Israel Pemberton, senior, applied for a certificate for his son which, after the customary inquiry was made into the affairs of the young man, was issued by the Monthly Meeting. The inquest was not a mere formality, and upon occasions an applicant was required to show the necessary conformance to Quaker discipline for a time before the letter was issued. At times, individuals

⁶ Pemberton Papers, III, 15.

received positive refusals. It was also customary for the returning traveler to carry to his home Meeting a report on his behavior while abroad. Israel returned to Philadelphia armed with a certificate from the London Meeting, and shortly after others arrived from the various places he had visited in England.⁷

Transatlantic voyagers often provided their own bill of fare as well as other necessities for the trip. No record seems to have been preserved of Israel Pemberton's preparations. There is, however, a record for 1745 of goods sold by the elder Pemberton for a transatlantic voyage. The provisions consisted of two gallons of wine, two gallons of rum, two cartons of eggs, two cheeses, one-half barrel of the best beer, five pounds of loaf sugar, six pounds of butter, twelve fowls (live), one bushel of Indian corn, and a parcel of oatmeal.⁸ When John Pemberton left for England in 1750, he took with him oranges, tangerines, pineapples, and that which was most highly prized—a goat. To his father, John wrote: "Our goat's milk being very serviceable in making chocolate tho' she does not give near as much as we expected." He further informed his father that cider "proves extraordinary and is our chief drink."⁹ Naturally, those who could afford it abstained from drinking the rank and foul water from the ship's tankards. Regarding the cabin accommodations, James Pemberton wrote while en route to England in 1748 "Everything [is] exceedingly convenient and our fireplace in the cabin we find particularly serviceable. We dress our breakfast and on occasion can cook a very good dinner without going on deck. . . ." ¹⁰

Before leaving Philadelphia for London, Israel offered his services to the directors of Benjamin Franklin's Library Company. When he returned in the spring of the following year, he delivered to the directors several much wanted books, together with copies of the latest London magazines.¹¹ It was while on this trip that his

⁷ Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, 3 mo., 30, 1735; 4 mo., 25, 1736 (Friends' Book Store).

⁸ Pemberton Papers, IV, 17.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI, 148.

¹¹ Minute Book of the Library Company of Philadelphia, I, 53, 66 (Ridgway Library). Among other authors, works of the following were owned by the Library Company at this time: Sidney, Defoe, Swift, Homer, Dryden, Newton, Pufendorf, L'Hospital, and Gravesande. See C. Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, 105.

youthful zeal in the matter of purchases for his father far exceeded the caution for which Quaker merchants were known. Israel's heavy buying caused his father no little embarrassment before the bills were met and the stock sold. No doubt he learned a good lesson in sound business practice from this experience.¹² Most of the young man's time while in England was taken up with matters of business. This he regretted very much, and years later he once remarked that he thought a traveler should take time to associate "with wise and good men to gain that instruction and experience, which enlarges our understanding & excites our inclination to pursue a course of life, in which we may be really serviceable & helpful to those among whom we live."¹³

Israel Pemberton's youthful courtship did not lack color. The object of his affection was a pretty Quaker maiden, Sarah Kirkbride, who lived near Pennsbury. Before Israel's trip to England, friends had noticed the pair much together, and speculation on the probability of their marriage was common in Quaker circles, but the lad left for England without proposing. The departure gave his chief rival, Anthony Morris, the opportunity he coveted. The latter was seen to call regularly upon the girl, and the good Quakers about town thought Israel would return to find her pledged to another. Word went around not long after he sailed that the maid had accepted the hand of his rival. Israel's father was concerned over the matter but, not knowing how his son felt, dared not interfere. However, if the Morris family and the Philadelphia Friends believed that the affair was closed, they did not properly judge the resourcefulness of the young man in England.

Upon arriving home, Israel Pemberton went straight to Sarah and asked whether she was engaged to Anthony. The girl replied that, although the latter had proposed, she was not satisfied and had not accepted. Israel's father, fearing that his son's forwardness would be frowned upon by Friends, suggested that he wait for Sarah positively to turn down his rival. But he assured his father that this was unnecessary and proceeded with his courtship unabashed by town gossip or disapprobation, whereupon the affair presently assumed the semblance of a family feud. When the Morris family

¹² Pemberton Papers, IX, 9.

¹³ *Ibid.*, V, 14.

accused the elder Pemberton of interceding through the girl's parents, father Pemberton got his son to withdraw until Anthony was accepted or rejected. The latter took this for a cue to bring the affair to a close. Anthony, supported by his elder brother, proceeded to the Kirkbride home, where he put his proposal squarely before the maid and her family. Thereupon, Sarah positively rejected his hand in marriage. Anthony's anger rose; he turned to the parents and insisted that "it was too late now to refuse him their daughter, insinuating as if they had been so free together that she was not fit for anybody else. . . ." ¹⁴ The father, with equal warmth, responded that they would prefer to have their daughter remain single than marry him.

In December 1736, Israel applied to the Philadelphia Meeting for a recommendation to the Falls Meeting to consider his marriage to Sarah Kirkbride. A committee was "appointed to make the necessary enquiry," and at the next meeting his request was granted.¹⁵ A month later, Israel and Sarah appeared before the Falls Meeting, requesting that they be granted permission to marry. Someone called for Israel's certification from the Philadelphia Meeting, whereupon he produced it. The clerk read the paper and the Meeting was satisfied, promptly appointing some Friends to attend the marriage to see that "it was orderly accomplished."¹⁶ They were married on March 30, 1737, each offering mutual vows of fealty and devotion, after which several Friends were stirred to make observations befitting the occasion.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 23-25.

¹⁵ Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, 10 mo., 3, 1736.

¹⁶ Minutes of the Falls Monthly Meeting, 12 mo., 2, 1736-1737 (Friends' Book Store).

CHAPTER II

QUAKER MERCHANT

BY 1745, Israel Pemberton was recognized as one of the leading merchants of Philadelphia, a city which already was threatening Boston's place as the chief American port.¹ He had probably operated his own business from the time of his marriage in 1737, since prosperous merchants often established their sons on this occasion. A study of Israel Pemberton's trade reveals not only the nature of the Pennsylvania commerce of the eighteenth century, but undoubtedly illuminates certain traits common to colonial merchants who, as a class, contributed so much to the development of the American colonies.

Besides frequenting the ports of British America, Israel Pemberton's ships found their way to those of the British Isles, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, the Madeira Islands, and, occasionally, Italy. His source of cargoes, with the exception of English manufactures, was as widely spread as his markets. Naturally he endeavored to buy in the lowest market and sell in the one which afforded the greatest margin of profit. His ships might be carrying barrel staves, shingles, or lumber produced in New England, New York, or Pennsylvania, and bound for the West Indies, Ireland, Portugal, or the Madeiras, where a market was usually to be found. They might be loaded with grain or flour from any one of the Middle Colonies, or rice from South Carolina or Georgia for a market in the Iberian countries or the West Indies; tobacco from Maryland or Virginia going to England; sugar and molasses from the West Indies for the Philadelphia market; rum from New England, Pennsylvania, or the West Indies in great demand throughout the colonies; or wine from Portugal or the Madeiras for consumption on the tables of the best American homes.

¹ In 1730 Boston cleared 578 ships, when Philadelphia could claim only 173. By 1750 Philadelphia had surpassed Boston and was the leading port in America. See J. T. Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690-1763*, 226.

Israel Pemberton often sold his goods outright to foreign or English merchants, but on occasions merchandise was consigned to them for sale on a commission basis. Alert correspondents and factors kept him informed of the trends and possibilities of the markets. He found it helpful also to supplement their reports with a record of all ships and cargoes entering and leaving Philadelphia noting, in so far as possible, the destination of outgoing vessels.²

But although the shrewd Quaker merchant supplied himself with all available information pertaining to his business, no little risk was incurred in any transaction. It was quite imperative to get cargoes to high or rising markets early; a few weeks might turn an attractive field into a glutted one and force the shipper to take a loss on the venture. The fortunate merchant, who received prior notice, endeavored to conceal his information while he loaded his ships with all possible haste. In most instances, however, the reports of a favorable market did not long remain a secret; consequently, unless the supply was less than the demand the market soon fell off.

Often, when markets were uncertain and far from home, it was necessary in those days of slow communication to supply the ship's captain with very elastic instructions, which allowed him to buy and sell whenever a transaction was considered advantageous. In May 1745, Pemberton placed the following memorandum in the hands of the captain of his ship, *Bolton*, bound for Ireland: "If the winds permit going round the north part proceed for Dublin, if it should happen that thou art obliged to stop at any port where an advantageous sale can be made of the cargo, we leave thee & Wm. Griffiths in that case in liberty to act, as you may judge most for our interest." The bill of lading for the *Bolton* on this trip showed 238 barrels of flour, 30,160 barrel staves, and 2 tons of pig iron. For the return voyage, in addition to a stock of linens, Israel proposed "a parcel of strong bodied young men servants on any reasonable terms. . . ." For faithfully carrying out his instructions, the captain would receive the customary commission of 2½ per cent for making the necessary purchases for the return cargo, and, if he returned by October, a bonus of ten guineas.³

In compliance with the Navigation Laws, manufactured goods were generally imported by Philadelphians from England. Al-

² Israel Pemberton's Letter Book, 137 (American Philosophical Society).

³ *Ibid.*, 43-47.

though the law required that all European goods bound for a British colony must be carried in English (including colonial) ships and routed through England, an elaborate system of rebates discounted the English duties in favor of the colonies. Thus, some continental articles were cheaper in America than in England itself. On other articles, however, the duties were not rebated, a fact which caused considerable smuggling. But English drygoods and hardware, being reasonable in price and usually preferred in the colonies, afforded little inducement to the smugglers. Israel Pemberton imported large quantities of English merchandise, especially cloth and hardware.

The English steel manufacturers of the eighteenth century relied increasingly upon American pig iron, a commodity which formed an important item in Pemberton's exports. Late in 1745, he sent a shipment of iron and steel to Ireland, "the consumption [in America] being much lessened by the stagnation of our trade in building ships, which formerly was a great advantage to the makers of iron. . . ." ⁴ The shipping of American steel overseas was not customary, for the demand in the colonies was invariably steady and the price higher than abroad. In 1750, the British authorities endeavored to curb the production of steel in the colonies in favor of English hardware but continued to encourage the smelting of pig iron.⁵ Pemberton remained in the pig iron business long after he had retired from the general field of commerce.

The prosperity of the merchants of Philadelphia and New York rested to a large degree on the great production of foodstuffs in the Middle Colonies. The problems presented in the traffic in foodstuffs are found in the story of Israel Pemberton's thriving trade. Ordinarily, American grain or flour shipments to the Iberian and Madeira markets were dependent upon large supplies and low prices in America with an accompanying scarcity and high prices in the competing grain growing regions of Europe.⁶ The years

⁴ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁵ A. C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century*, *passim*.

⁶ In addition, the flour trade was dependent upon the flow of water for milling. From June until December 1745, the mills in Pennsylvania were unable to turn because of the extended drought of that year. Notwithstanding the fact that the harvest was large, the price of Pennsylvania flour advanced steadily. In December, Pemberton notified a correspondent in the West Indies that the dry period had ended and the price of flour was falling fast, so that the product could soon be shipped with profit. Israel Pemberton's Letter Book, 64, 193.

1746–1748, however, were war years and, although the Pennsylvania grain yield was relatively small because of climatic conditions as well as the “number of farmers & their servants who were carried off by the epedemick pleurisy . . . ,”⁷ the exigencies of the times afforded new markets and higher prices for American products, and the years were prosperous.⁸

With the close of the War of the Austrian Succession, the European market for Pennsylvania grain and flour again rested upon small foreign production. In 1749 the colonial grain crop was large and Philadelphia merchants waited expectantly for news of the state of European markets. James and John Pemberton, Israel’s younger brothers, received an order to buy Pennsylvania wheat for shipment to Barcelona, Spain and Leghorn, Italy. That year the Madeira wheat market was high, the crop on the island having failed, and no great shipments having arrived by August from England or America.⁹ Quantities of American wheat were shipped to France and Spain in 1752,¹⁰ but the following year it could not be sold profitably in Europe. In 1754 Israel Pemberton’s Lisbon correspondent reported that Italian and Levant wheat had glutted their market and advised against American shipments.¹¹ Israel acted accordingly, but many Philadelphia merchants suffered great losses by not knowing or not heeding the warning.¹²

The West Indian grain and flour market was hardly more predictable than the European. At times some of the islands raised enough foodstuffs for their needs, and, again, the market became woefully glutted by shipments from the British Isles as well as the Middle Colonies. In 1752, James Pemberton received notice from Antigua not to ship foodstuffs there, for the sugar planters were

⁷ Peters’ Letter Book, July 27, 1748 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁸ Value of exports from Pennsylvania in wheat, flour, bread, and flaxseed totaled £62,582 in 1731, £148,104 in 1749, and £187,457 in 1751. See T. F. Gordon, *The History of Pennsylvania from its Discovery by Europeans to the Declaration of Independence in 1776*, 272.

⁹ Smith MSS, III, 116 (Ridgway Library).

¹⁰ Pemberton Papers, VIII, 44.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, X, 55.

¹² Much care was necessary in the transportation of grain. Straw mats were used for protection against moisture and partitions installed in the hold to guard against heating. Vessels were usually furnished with a double deck, and neither new ships nor those over eight or ten years old were used, as both were subject to leakage. See Pemberton Papers, V, 137.

raising enough that year.¹³ The Barbados market in 1749 was so over-stocked, chiefly by Pennsylvania products, that prices were lower there than in Philadelphia.¹⁴

Despite the hazards of trade, Israel Pemberton carried on a very profitable business with the West Indies during the decade 1740–1750. The variety of goods sent to the islands is revealed by a bill of lading of 1745 listing flour, bread, bar iron, gammons, corn, barrel headings, staves, and hoops.¹⁵ Pemberton had originally intended to send only barrel parts, but on considering the time required in loading them and the great need of haste in dispatching the cargo, he altered his intention. It was necessary to reach the islands without delay for profitable sales and to be on hand to buy rum and sugar in a full market and to return to Philadelphia before the home market became flooded.

The Molasses Act of 1733, which placed a prohibitive duty on foreign sugar, molasses, and rum, caused an increasing amount of smuggling between the English colonial mainland and the foreign West Indies. The greater share of this illicit trade centered in New England, although New York and Pennsylvania were not without those concerned in it.¹⁶ Pennsylvania seemed quite indifferent to the trade, however, when Parliament in 1748, following the close of the war, began considering means to enforce the Navigation Laws. Robert Charles, one of the Pennsylvania colonial agents at the Court of St. James, wrote Isaac Norris, a leader of the Pennsylvania Assembly, asking for instructions as to how to proceed in the matter. Norris replied that Pennsylvania had no great interest in the French trade.¹⁷ Exports to the French islands were confined principally to barrel staves, shingles, and lumber, which necessitated shipment of silver to pay the balance for the French molasses. However, the trade with Surinam [Dutch Guiana], Norris explained, constituted an exception in the foreign trade, because that

¹³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 87.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 47.

¹⁵ Israel Pemberton's Letter Book, 13.

¹⁶ Rhode Island seems to have been the first colony to have had a large illegal trade with the foreign islands. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Massachusetts merchants were the most notorious smugglers. See F. W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700–1763*, 281–282; C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, IV, 243.

¹⁷ Norris' Letter Book, 1719–1756, 22–23 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

country took quantities of Pennsylvania products and often remitted in the much needed specie.¹⁸ A few months later, Norris admitted that the distilling business in Pennsylvania, which depended largely on the lower priced French sugar, had increased considerably of late, but he still insisted that Pennsylvania should not take the lead in opposing the proposed legislation.¹⁹

The Pemberton West Indian trade which conformed to the general pattern among the Philadelphia Quaker merchants, was confined to the English islands—Antigua, Barbados, Jamaica, Nevis, and St. Kitts—and to the Dutch islands, particularly Curaçao. Although Rhode Island Quakers apparently were deep in the French trade, very few, if any, Pennsylvania Quakers seem to have been concerned in it before 1756.²⁰ During the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Pennsylvania's share in the smuggling was greater, and several prominent Quakers were engaged in it, although the Meetings led by the Pembertons brought great pressure to bear upon offending Friends. In 1748, however, the French trade was in the hands of a relatively few non-Quaker merchants who, during King George's War, had been licensed by the French. One of the most prominent persons engaged in the trade with the French during both wars was William Allen, leader of the anti-Quaker party, attorney, judge, and later, Chief Justice of the Province. The fact, therefore, that the French trade was in the hands of New England merchants and political rivals in Pennsylvania, explains the Quaker position. Norris made no mention of the political implication, but acknowledged the other: "New England & R[hode] Island etc. had been in the French trade long before us . . . they ought to be foremost . . . [in opposing the British designs]." ²¹

¹⁸ Pitman points out that the American colonies had a larger trade with the Dutch West Indian possessions than with the French in 1737. *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700–1763*, 200.

¹⁹ Norris' Letter Book, 1719–1756, 30–31. The French molasses and rum were invariably cheaper than the English and offered an attractive trade for the American colonies. The lower price of the French sugar products was due to reduced overhead costs obtained by efficient management and to the fact that the sale of French molasses and rum was prohibited in deference to the brandy business. The New England colonies also found a market for cheap grades of fish in the French islands. See W. S., McCellan, *Smuggling in the American Colonies at the Outbreak of the Revolution*, 38.

²⁰ C. M. Andrews has declared that the smuggling operations in colonial days were much less than was formerly supposed. The merchant papers of the Pemberton family support this conclusion. *The Colonial Period of American History*, IV, 240–241.

²¹ Norris' Letter Book, 1719–1756, 37.

The risks in trading were great in time of war, but the profits were high when success attended the venture.²² Israel Pemberton's trade attained unprecedented proportions during King George's War (1745-1748), and by employing the careful and prudent management acquired from his father and ten years of experience, he rapidly accumulated a fortune. War placed increased demands on the acumen and perspicacity of merchants. New markets were opened and old ones lost, insurance rates soared, and captures and ransoms were among the problems to be met. In these years Pemberton gave his captains careful instructions regarding routes to be followed and ransoms to be made in case of capture.²³

But if the Pennsylvania Quakers generally kept out of the direct trade with the enemy, they appreciated the importance of the neutral Dutch islands in the flow of wartime trade. As early as November 1745, Israel Pemberton sent a shipload of provisions to Nicholas and Isaac Gouverneur at Curaçao. In the accompanying letter to the Gouverneurs, he wrote: "There's no probability of the French receiving any considerable supply save what they will have from your port. I have no doubt you may have it in your power to obtain a profitable price for this parcel of beef and pork. . . ." ²⁴ Furthermore, Pemberton informed his factors that he was sending a ship to Cork, Ireland, for beef and butter with orders to deliver the cargo to Curaçao.²⁵ "And," continued Israel, "if you answer my expectation in expeditious sales & remittances during the continuance of ye war, I intend to keep a sum of money, at least equal to the value of this cargo, constantly employ'd in ye trade, & may increase it as I am encourag'd by the profit." ²⁶ The Gouverneurs were to remit with indigo in Dutch bottoms to Rotterdam, where the cargo would be sold and the money placed in the hands of John Hunt of London. In this way insurance rates would be compara-

²² J. T. Adams states that the war contracts were very large for that day and the profits enormous. *Provincial Society, 1690-1763*, 319.

²³ Israel Pemberton's Letter Book, 69.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 131. Especially during the wars for independence in North and South America and during the Civil War in the United States have the Dutch and other West Indian islands been instrumental in supplying belligerents.

²⁵ Horace Walpole in 1740 wrote that the French and Spanish could not long maintain their sea power in American waters, if they were not provisioned from Ireland or the English colonies. See Pitman, *op. cit.*, 285.

²⁶ Israel Pemberton's Letter Book, 131-132.

tively low and the goods safe on neutral vessels. But if this could not be done, remittances should be made directly from Curaçao to Philadelphia or New York.²⁷

One might wonder how Israel Pemberton attempted to harmonize his Quaker conscience with his Curaçao trade. Had he sold his goods outright to the Gouverneurs, it might have been construed as a legitimate trade with a neutral, the Curaçao merchants assuming the responsibility for supplying the French; but as the business was handled, Pemberton opened himself to a charge of entering treasonable relationships with the enemy. At this time Israel was thirty years of age: ten years later he doubtless would have refrained from engaging in such transactions, for as he grew older, he became more discriminating in his business dealings, refusing several times during the French and Indian War to contract with the British army for large deliveries of provisions.

After six months of the Curaçao trade, Israel Pemberton was far from satisfied with the results. The insurance rates and operating costs were higher, and there was less freight available for the return voyage, than was the case in the British West Indian trade. However, Israel decided to give it another chance and to put his ship *Unity* into the service, promising the Gouverneurs to keep her in it should the voyage prove satisfactory.²⁸ He instructed the captain to load molasses, limes, salt, and Dutch canvas and cordage for the return trip or, failing, to ballast with stones.²⁹

That Israel Pemberton gave his captain special instructions to unload the cargo (foreign molasses carried a prohibitive duty of six pence per gallon) out of reach of the Philadelphia custom officers may be taken for granted. Evidence of smuggling on Pemberton's part is rare, it is true, and, apparently, he was little concerned in it, but that he would do so rather than pay the duty is shown by the fact that about this time he contemplated going below Chester to smuggle in a cargo of rum which was registered as of French origin by the ship's papers. He was spared the trouble, however, when letters were procured showing that the rum had been taken from a

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 132, 159.

²⁸ Before putting the *Unity* into the trade, Pemberton apparently had not used his own ships.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 280-281.

British vessel by the French.³⁰ Shortly after Israel sent the *Unity* to Curaçao, he admonished one of his captains to observe carefully the acts of navigation. Certainly, at this time Israel Pemberton was too engrossed in his rapidly expanding trade to allow religious inhibitions seriously to hamper its operations. Already in November 1745, he had offered to supply the British fleet in American waters and the army garrisons with all the provisions they might need.³¹

When the *Unity* was taken by the French in November 1746, Israel Pemberton had had enough of the Curaçao trade. Henceforth, he told the Gouverneurs, he would choose the market having the greatest possibilities and involving the least danger, rather than confine his ships to a certain course. He was dissatisfied with the profits as well as the slow remittances made by the Gouverneurs.³² The British West Indian trade was safer; the distance was less and convoys often were available. In addition, the British islands were actually distressed for provisions, so great was the trading with the enemy.³³ Pemberton perceived what many did not, that the British West Indian trade was still the better when all factors were considered.

If the character of Israel Pemberton's Curaçao trade was known at the time, it aroused little or no criticism. In contrast, certain non-Quaker merchants carried on a bold and open trade with the enemy, which excited sharp criticism from many quarters. "You cannot imagine how much Mr. Allen & his friends are blam'd in Town," wrote Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, "as foreigners both Spanish and French come to & fro in these vessels wherein this trade is carry'd on; the Quaker party . . . use this as an argument to dissuade people from defence. . . ." ³⁴

The records of the Meetings of the Society of Friends of Philadelphia show that a determined stand was taken against Quakers

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 463. There were many "loopholes and ambiguities" in the Navigation Laws. Distinctions and varying interpretations gave a shipper considerable latitude in observing them. See Andrews, *op. cit.*, IV, 82.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 413, 464.

³² *Ibid.*, 463.

³³ Pitman, *op. cit.*, 294-295.

³⁴ Peters' Letter Book, Nov. 28, 1747. Trading with the enemy was often conducted under "flags of truce" granted for the exchange of prisoners. Records reveal cases where but one prisoner was concerned in an exchange, which made possible the conveying of a shipload of supplies to the enemy. See Pitman, *op. cit.*, 289.

who violated the cherished pacifism by fitting out privateers. The Society's action plainly reflected the will of the Pembertons and a few other prominent families. On December 25, 1747, Israel Pemberton and a number of others were appointed by the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting to prepare testimony against Amos and Robert Strettell, William Coleman, and Reese Meredith for fitting out a privateer, unless "they should manifest a disposition to give some satisfaction" upon further treating with them.³⁵ The offending Quakers were not only guilty of fitting out a privateer, but had further compromised the principles of the Society by "pressing with all their might a petition to the assembly for money to put the town in a posture of defence & to protect the trade of the Province."³⁶ This might not have provoked the Meeting to censure them, had it not been for the fact that their actions were tantamount to political treason by playing into the hands of the Allen party, which was using every possible means to bring reproach upon the Quakers for refusing to place the Province in a state of defense. Friends were forced in self-defense to suppress actions by members of the Society manifestly inconsistent with the professions of their religion and policies.

Philadelphia Quakers were embarrassed by the fact that many London Friends held their religious principles so lightly and cared so little for the reputation of the Society as to place cannon on the decks of their merchantmen. Israel Pemberton, senior, wrote Elias Bland, London Quaker merchant, a stinging letter when guns were found on his ships coming to Philadelphia.³⁷ Notwithstanding this, there is no evidence to show that Philadelphia Quakers refused to place their ships under the convoy of privateers or warships; on the contrary, it was the practice for them to do so whenever possible. Israel Pemberton excused himself for suffering his ships to sail in convoy by the plea that the insurance rates were thereby much lessened. This reveals with what facility, when conditions warranted it, he could brush aside inconsistencies and placate his conscience by none too subtle rationalization. His words to John Hunt, regarding escort by convoy, have a particularly hollow sound when he says:

³⁵ Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, 1745-1755, 46.

³⁶ Peters' Letter Book, Nov. 19, 1747.

³⁷ Pemberton Papers, IV, 162.

"but for my own part confess I put little confidence in such help & protection. . . ." ³⁸

In time of peace, colonial merchants would often risk the loss of ships and cargoes by dispensing with insurance, but during war the danger was too great, and insurance was seldom neglected. The merchant seeking insurance instructed his London correspondent to make the necessary contracts with the insurers. In addition to the cost of insurance, the correspondent customarily charged a commission of .5 per cent.³⁹ Insurance rates soared in time of war. John Hunt handled much of Israel Pemberton's insurance, procuring the policies from Dutch bankers on the assumption that it was cheaper and just as safe as the English.⁴⁰ Elías Bland, London merchant and competitor of John Hunt, endeavored to get the latter's business by circulating reports that the Dutch insurance was not always lower and was much less reliable than the English.⁴¹

No eighteenth-century merchant had a better understanding of marine insurance and how to get the most for the least expenditure than Israel Pemberton. He objected to Dutch insurance chiefly because it was hazardous suing in a strange and foreign court, but he would not object so long as their insurance was 3 per cent lower than the English.⁴² So far as possible, Pemberton avoided making insurance. He timed his letters for insurance on ships plying between Philadelphia and the West Indies so that, if the vessel arrived safely at its destination, a countermanding letter could be sent from the West Indies to London in time to cancel the order for insurance. To do this effectively, Pemberton would send the letter for insurance as late as possible, so that the countermanding letter from the West Indies would be sure to arrive before his own. His correspondent in the West Indies sent this letter off at the earliest opportunity after the ship's safe arrival. For the return trip the plan was carried out in reverse order.⁴³

³⁸ Israel Pemberton's Letter Book, 74.

³⁹ Pemberton Papers, III, 159. Some marine insurance was written in America after John Copson established his agency in Philadelphia in 1721, although the greater share continued to be made in England and Holland. See J. T. Adams, *op. cit.*, 224-225.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 176.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, III, 119.

⁴² Israel Pemberton's Letter Book, 228.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 129.

It is impossible to say how often the scheme succeeded in saving insurance, but it is evident that it often miscarried by the fact that Pemberton complained of paying in insurance many times over what the *Globe* was worth.⁴⁴ He even thought of sending out the *Globe* without insurance, inasmuch as "she sailed so well." In the fall of 1745, John Hunt sent Pemberton a bill for nearly £200 on insurance premiums for the *Unity*, the *Dorothy*, the *James*, the *Globe*, and the *Hawk*, which covered but one way from Philadelphia to the West Indies.⁴⁵ About this time one of Pemberton's agents made the mistake of mentioning in a letter to England the capture of a ship in which Israel was a partner. Unfortunately, this knowledge reached the insurers before Pemberton's order for insurance arrived. "For this reason," Israel cautioned the correspondent, "I make it a rule in these cases to omit to mention any thing of vessels being taken till its really necessary, & another reason for silence on this head is by magnifying the danger on these coasts, the premiums for insurance are advanced. . . ." ⁴⁶

Contraction of trade and credit, which inevitably follows the inflationary tendencies of war, swiftly overspread the British Empire after King George's War. Money was becoming scarce as early as the fall of 1748.⁴⁷ In February 1749, John Pemberton noted that the accounts from the West Indies were so discouraging that they were at a loss to know what to do with their ships.⁴⁸ A possible market in the Madeiras was thwarted when the captains of several New England vessels bought up all the available "pipe" or wine staves. At this time, a similar fate attended English vessels arriving in America, as little or no freight was offered in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, or Carolina for the return voyage.⁴⁹ From the Barbados a correspondent wrote: "Such dull times were never known here, it is an affront almost to offer the Hucksters goods they are so glutted. . . ." ⁵⁰ A year later the situation had not changed unless for the worse.⁵¹ Business remained indifferent and slack along the

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ John Hunt to Israel Pemberton, September 12, 1745, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁴⁶ Israel Pemberton's Letter Book, 118.

⁴⁷ Pemberton Papers, IV, 157.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 47.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 47, 83.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 56.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 57.

Pennsylvania waterfront throughout the first half of the decade, but in 1755 war returned to revive trade from its lethargy.

Many reputable merchants found it difficult to meet their obligations during the lean years following King George's War. It can be presumed that Israel Pemberton's perspicacity and caution in trade kept financial worry from his door during these years. However, his brother James was having difficulty in meeting his obligations to London creditors, and many Philadelphia merchant houses already were insolvent. London as well as American merchants were wiped out. Elias Bland, whom both Israel Pemberton and John Hunt warned against too great expansion in trade, was forced into bankruptcy. In fact, Bland was one of the leaders in inflating the American credit. To Israel, Hunt confided: "We in general feel the effects of his imprudent conduct, for by him was the door of credit opened in a most surprising manner, and by it such vast quantities of goods flowed to your market."⁵²

As a rule Quaker merchants were cautious and sound in their trade practices, and none was more so than Israel Pemberton. Recognizing the precarious state of the West Indian market in March 1747, he refused to join John Hunt in purchasing another ship for the trade.⁵³ Pemberton never entertained a high regard for the American tobacco trade. For one reason, the planters and merchants in Virginia demanded too much time for payment on their purchases, and, in addition, their extravagant manner of life impaired their credit. John Hunt, who became involved in the tobacco trade, was warned repeatedly against it by Israel.⁵⁴ It is significant to note that Hunt's Virginia correspondents were Quakers, in fact relatives of the Pembertons, who nevertheless became deeply in debt to Hunt and nearly caused his financial ruin a decade later. The Virginia tobacco economy which carried the planters ever deeper into debt also carried down all those who supplied it with credit, and even the shrewd Quaker could not long survive in it.

⁵² *Ibid.*, VI, 132. The Society of Friends was not indulgent toward members who, because of their inexorable thirst for wealth, exceeded the bounds of legitimate trade, and both Bland and his wife were summarily read out of the Society. Later, when they wished to return to the fold and his debts had been met, an influential Friend observed that it was "their duty to acknowledge their error before the Society can receive them again into membership."

⁵³ *Ibid.*, X, 144.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 140.

Throughout the intermediate years of peace and depression, the steady market for bond servants in Pennsylvania furnished a source for freight which Quaker merchants were not slow in recognizing. John Hunt refused to send goods in December 1748, but sent his ships to Rotterdam to pick up Palatines, people of the German Palatinate, who wished to emigrate to America.⁵⁵ Letters to England indicate that although great numbers of servants were constantly imported, the demand continued steady.⁵⁶ The fact that the Pennsylvania grain crop, after three lean years, was large in 1749 and the Mediterranean market promising, gave the merchants a cargo for Europe, and thus encouraged the servant trade.

Friends were fond of making religious visits among their fellow Quakers. Many of these travelers, however, seemed more interested in establishing themselves among the merchants of the visited communities than in gaining religious experiences. Elias Bland made a religious visit to America in 1743 and soon returned to London with James and John Pemberton for business correspondents.⁵⁷ Bland was not very subtle in his endeavors to hold and expand his trade. When Isaac Greenleaf left London for America with trading uppermost in his mind, Bland flattered himself that his relationship with the Pembertons was "stronger than an interest in trade, established only on a transient religious visit."⁵⁸ Greenleaf was John Hunt's junior partner and the latter, writing to James Pemberton, expressed his satisfaction that "I. G. has had strict regard to honour, not daring to use any undermining methods nor has he endeavored by little artifices, or artful insinuations, which is too common, to injure other men's interest."⁵⁹

Even Thomas Gawthrop, ex-soldier but now a man of religion, could not mix with the Quaker merchants without having his in-

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 40. The servant market was chiefly for unmarried men and women. Those sent over by Hunt were not sold but rather were allowed to become free laborers. James Pemberton was compelled to inform Hunt that remittances would have to be slow "unless we are determined to distress the poor people, which should very unwillingly do." See *Ibid.*, VIII, 112.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, 93, 134, 145, VIII, 112. Between 1748 and 1755 about 30,000 Germans entered Pennsylvania. Very few were brought over during the years of war. For a table showing the German immigration see O. Kuhn, *The German and Swiss Settlement of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch*, 57.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 84.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 119.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 110.

terest in business awakened. Elias Bland fitted him out with a small adventure when he left London,⁶⁰ but, after all, Quaker preachers were not paid and a man must live. However, when preacher Gawthrop returned to England after spending the greater part of his time in America with Israel Pemberton, he entertained an absorbing scheme for speculating in American land. The lands in question were unappropriated tracts for which the warrants or liens were held by Englishmen. Pemberton gave Gawthrop a drawing account and soon the latter was negotiating for lands in West Jersey.⁶¹ The correspondence between the two men indicates that they were unable to get a clear title and the affair was finally dropped.⁶² John Smith, cousin of the Pembertons, seemed hopeful in 1749 that Philadelphia would be favored soon by an addition in the number of preaching Friends but feared that the lure of trade might overcome them as it had so many others. "Wm. Brown from Nottingham is coming in a little time to settle in this city, & it is reported that several other public friends incline the same way, so that it's hoped we shall not want for preaching unless getting money and encumbering themselves with trade spoil them."⁶³

While his business was steadily expanding, Israel Pemberton often talked of curtailing its volume in response to an urge to devote more of his time to religious contemplation; but profits were too great an attraction and religious experience was destined to await peace and declining commerce. Regarding the curtailment of his business he wrote in 1745: "I can assure thee the prospect of it affords me more real pleasure than the success I have had, wch I must acknowledge to have been greater than I expected, . . ." ⁶⁴ Writing to John Pemberton in 1749 about a loss James had sustained through a capture, Israel avowed:

I tell thee by experience I have found trial of this kind very profitable; they tend to wean the mind from delighting in transactions & if rightly improved dispose us to look after enjoyments more certain and perma-

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* IV, 39. Quakers have no established or ordained ministers similar to those in other Protestant denominations, but certain Friends have often assumed a role similar to evangelists. At times they have been aided financially by Meetings but often have relied upon personal resources or managed to earn a living while preaching.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 81, 83.

⁶² *Ibid.*, IV, 97, 135.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, V, 67.

⁶⁴ Israel Pemberton's Letter Book, 2.

ment . . . thou knows how long I have been aiming at it, & having labour'd under difficulty am heartily desirous thou mayst be preserved in a situation of life & a disposition of mind, to render thee ready & capable of improving the gifts & talents given thee to thy own eternal advantage & ye honour of the giver of every good & perfect gift. . . . I am sensible there's a satisfaction & I believe something of a duty, in doing for ourselves; the principle of true religion being active & never disposes the mind to indulgences & sloth, but it likewise leads us to consider . . . of the end & purpose of our views & pursuits, & reproves us for them, if not consistant with the one point to which they ought solely to tend, ye honor of God & good of mankind . . . for I am more than ever convinced that it is impossible to be heirs of two kingdoms & wish thee an inheritance in that which is eternal. . . .⁶⁵

Israel Pemberton's great days of trading terminated at the close of the seventeen-forties. No doubt he had a sincere desire to divest himself of the cares of trade in order to devote more time to religious services, contemplation, and humanitarian activities. But it should be borne in mind that in fifteen years he had accumulated a great fortune, and that the trade was becoming increasingly precarious as competitors multiplied and profits diminished. Although not completely abandoning trade until later in life, after 1750 he invested his money more and more in lands, mortgages, bonds, and notes: the returns might be less but investments were safer in this form and required less attention.⁶⁶

In many respects Israel Pemberton epitomizes very well the American colonial merchants, the Quaker merchants in particular. As a group their contribution in fostering the rapid growth of thriving cities and an expanding hinterland is inestimable. Possessors of a cosmopolitan point of view gained by travel, study, and commercial contacts, they generally were deserving of positions of trust and leadership. In their work they became acquainted with the details of farming, manufacturing, and mining, as well as commerce. They had to keep abreast of both domestic and international politics, wars, treaties, navigation laws, the intricacies of currency,

⁶⁵ Pemberton Papers, V, 107.

⁶⁶ In 1751 William Alexander of New York offered to sell Pemberton 31,572 acres on the Delaware. See Wm. Alexander to Israel Pemberton, Oct. 26, 1751, Wm. Alexander, Miscel. MSS, Box I (New York Historical Society). About this time Pemberton bought 1,000 acres in Pennsylvania from Elias Bland. Purchasing American land from Englishmen was not unusual for it could often be secured very reasonably in England. See Pemberton Papers, VI, 37, 59, 111; IX, 1-2.

exchange, insurance, and law; they studied world geography, economics, the languages, customs, and manners of foreign nations.⁶⁷ Finally, they had to calculate the relation of all these factors to personal, city, and provincial interests. It is not surprising, therefore, that the colonial merchants furnished infant America with wise and progressive leadership. In the following chapters, the life of Israel Pemberton will reveal the peculiar leadership rendered by one of Pennsylvania's foremost Quaker merchants. In so far as politics are concerned it was a leadership of doubtful value at times. The shortcomings, in this field however, were offset by services in the realm of philanthropy and social reforms.

⁶⁷ C. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization*, 312.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND CIVIC AFFAIRS

WHILE Israel Pemberton was devoting much time to commercial affairs, he was by no means out of touch with the social and civic life of Philadelphia. Rather, he was recognized as one of its foremost public-minded citizens. His attention was drawn increasingly to politics, in which he rapidly rose as a leader of those who asserted a policy of strict adherence to Quaker principles in government. In the Society of Friends, he was soon one of the most "weighty" members of the younger set, and it seemed only logical that he should inherit the leadership his father and John Kinsey held in the Meetings. In addition, he became prominent in such widely spread public activities as the establishment of a hospital, a fire department, a fire insurance association, the advancement of education, poor relief, the abolition of slavery, better Indian relations, and enterprises of equal merit. Indeed, by 1750 public affairs were absorbing his time so completely that he had hardly a moment from day to day to devote to personal concerns.

Unfortunately, while Israel Pemberton was in the midst of these engrossing activities, his wife Sarah died, leaving seven children. About a year later he married Mary Jordan (nee Stanbury), already twice a widow. In 1728 she had married Richard Hill, a wealthy Philadelphian, who soon died. In 1731 she married Robert Jordan, who died early in the following decade.¹ After Sarah's death, Israel became interested in the pretty widow, who was eleven years his senior. The courtship was short and after the usual approval of the Meetings was secured, they were married. John Smith reveals in his diary that at Meeting "D. Stanton & B. Trotter & A. Farrington preached. Then Israel Pemberton jun. was married to M. Jordan, both spoke very well . . . the dinner was at Israel's house where there was much company." ² Pemberton's new brother-in-law, Sam-

¹ Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, 1715-1744, 163, 199.

² John Smith's Diary, 9 mo., 27, 1747 (Ridgway Library).

uel Jordan, bluntly declared that the marriage was hasty and followed too closely upon the death of Sarah Pemberton.³

Israel Pemberton's home was a large brick building on the corner of Chestnut and Third Streets, in the center of what was the most fashionable district of Philadelphia. The grounds adjacent to the house were devoted to hedges and garden, to the care of which Israel gave much thought and attention. Alexander Graydon records in his *Memoirs* of passing the Pemberton home on his way to school. The garden was "laid out in the old fashioned style of uniformity, with walks and allies nodding to their brothers, and decorated with a number of evergreens carefully clipped into pyramidal and conical forms."⁴

Here and there in the Pemberton correspondence appears a glimpse of family and home life. When Israel's daughters Mary, Rachel, and Sarah were small he promised them each a guinea for the purchase of dolls in England, but upon turning it over in his mind, he decided that "to send each a baby will run away with too much of the money, therefore believe it is best they should have one handsome large baby (drest) and some small household goods. . . ." ⁵ The daughters, no doubt, would have preferred individual dolls, though smaller and less gorgeous, but Israel was not the person to question his opinion regarding the proper means of promoting the happiness of others. While in England James Pemberton hoped to purchase some books for Israel's children, but they were so given over to "romances and idle tales" that he bought only a new edition of *Æsop's Fables*.⁶ A few years later, while on a religious visit with her step-mother, Israel's eldest daughter, Mary, conveys in a letter her father's constant care and guidance and the sincerity and appreciation with which it was received. The letter reads:

Dear Father,—The loss of thy instructing company makes time seem tedious, but when we consider it as to accompany such a valuable friend, we freely resign thee for a season, and hope it may be of advantage to us, that we may know how to prize such valuable parents as the Lord hath favored us with, and desire we may be made worthy of such.⁷

³ Pemberton Papers, IV, 75.

⁴ A. Graydon, *Memoirs*, 34-35.

⁵ Israel Pemberton's Letter Book, 481.

⁶ Pemberton Papers, V, 43.

⁷ *Ibid.*, X, 58.

For the most part the Pemberton private library consisted of works profound and religious in nature. Conspicuous were the great Quaker writings, such as Robert Barclay's *Apology*, William Sewel's *History of the Society of Friends*, and Thomas Chalkley's *Journal*. Pemberton made frequent additions to his library. In 1749 he asked James to expend £15 while in England "in good books," which he thought might be purchased reasonably in second-hand shops.⁸ Besides adding to his personal library, Pemberton ordered quantities of the great Quaker works and sold them throughout the colonies.⁹ Israel Pemberton's interest in books led him to become a member of Franklin's Library Company of Philadelphia in 1738. For a time he was a director, and in 1742 he served on a committee which revised the Company's charter.¹⁰

The Pembertons had their share of sickness, a condition so common in colonial days that there was seldom a time but that some member of the family was ailing. The state of health of individuals and the community was the prevailing theme in colonial social correspondence. Consumption was the most persistent enemy, and the Pemberton family was particularly susceptible, losing several members from its ravages. Ocean air was considered the most efficacious relief from consumption, and in 1748 Charles, Israel's youngest brother, was taken to the New Jersey coast. His mother urged him to continue taking the "wood lice," but no remedy sufficed to restore his health and in a few months he died.¹¹ In 1750, John went to England in the hope of improving his health, but neither the ocean voyage nor the change of climate afforded him much relief.¹²

The favorite spot along the New Jersey coast for those suffering

⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 77.

⁹ In 1750 London Friends sent over three hundred copies of Barclay's *Apology* and Sewel's *History* written in "High Dutch to be distributed among the Germans. . . ." Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, 1745-1755, 144. The Pietists, who often were called German Quakers, not only welcomed Quaker literature but frequently joined the Society of Friends. Of the Pietists the Mennonite was the largest group. The Quakers, and to some extent the Baptists, were English versions of the continental Mennonites. Generally, all refused to take oaths, had no paid ministry, believed in pacifism, rejected infant baptism, and practiced simplicity in manners and dress. See Kuhns, *op. cit.*, 173.

¹⁰ Minute Book of the Library Company of Philadelphia, I, 72, 117. Between 1745 and 1763 at least seventeen libraries were established in the colonies, one third being found in Philadelphia. See J. T. Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690-1763*, 305.

¹¹ Pemberton Papers, IV, 103, 112, 118.

¹² *Ibid.*, VI, 56.

from respiratory complaint was Shrewsbury on the northern shore, where it was usual for a colony of Philadelphians to be gathered during the summer months. Israel's wife Mary took her daughter there in 1759. Breathing salt air, bathing in the ocean, drinking salt water, and eating seafood constituted the cure as it was then practiced. Polly "has begun to drink the Sea water, and twice has taken near half a pint at a time . . .," Mary wrote to Israel soon after arriving. Its effects, she continued, were much the same as "Glauber's Salts," although it sickened the stomach more.¹³ The remedial qualities of medicine were believed by people of that day to be in proportion to its bitterness or nauseousness. For bathing, the Pembertons drove their chaise to the beach where they had a tent pitched for changing clothes. Mary had made Polly a bathing "garment" upon their arrival at Shrewsbury.¹⁴

In addition to consumption, gout, indigestion, and other common and universal ailments, colonial people were struck by periodical and seasonal waves of smallpox, scarlet fever, yellow fever and dysentery.¹⁵ Yellow fever usually struck the city in late summer or early fall, when the people waited anxiously for the winds to change and blow cool, healthful air from the northwest.¹⁶ In 1750, James Pemberton, noting the prevalence of smallpox in several parts of the city, charged the physicians with spreading it by inoculation for purely pecuniary motives.¹⁷

The stock cure for all ailments was to bleed, purge, and blister the patient. A description of the prevailing treatment, by Israel Pemberton, senior, does not suffer from lack of realism: "My wife soon after I got home gave me a vomit which very much relieved my stomach, and the next day the doctor gave me a purge and took some blood from me, and the next day applied a blister to the back of my neck, from then I thought I received considerable relief."¹⁸

The style of dress worn by the wealthy Quakers of Israel Pemberton's time had changed little if any from that worn in the days of the founders of the Society of Friends. An element of vanity, how-

¹³ *Ibid.*, XIII, 72, 90.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, 76-77, 79.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 142.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 74.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 104.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 144.

ever, had appeared early, when they insisted on the finest material for their clothes. They wore the same somber brown, black, gray, or dark green worn by all Quakers, but the expensive texture and finely tailored lines of their garments unequivocally bespoke their station in life.¹⁹

Small as this change in the manner of dress may seem, it was indicative of elements of worldliness creeping constantly and irresistibly into Quaker circles. Richard Peters, Anglican clergyman, looked askance at the conduct of John Kinsey, one of the most prominent Quakers of his time. Peters declared: “. . . his conduct is to be sure unbecoming a man in his station, he is quite gay, affects young company, drinks hard now & then . . . is perpetually gallanting the ladies, lives in the utmost profusion at home, his children, or at least the eldest, is full of money & extravagant.”²⁰ The observation that “Quaker families who become wealthy by trade and industry, after a few generations either part with their wealth or lose their Quakerism,”²¹ is very fitting when applied to Friends of Pennsylvania of the second half of the eighteenth century. The members of the Pemberton, Norris, Logan, Kinsey, Dickerson, Morris, and other families generally had departed from the faith of their fathers by the year 1800. This loss, more than the fact that the Society of Friends failed to establish institutions for higher education, accounts for the absence of Quaker leadership after the American Revolution.²²

The wealthy Quakers of pre-Revolutionary days often possessed a good knowledge of the ancient and modern languages as well as history and philosophy. Although the stricter element held many forms of art to be an evil, others were patrons of painters and some even attended the theater. Several members of the Society were prominent botanists, while others were leaders in medicine and surgery. But Philadelphia's claim, after 1750, to first place as a center of American culture was due not to the contributions of any particular sect but to its great wealth and prosperity and to the many

¹⁹ Israel Pemberton's Letter Book, 33.

²⁰ Peters' Letter Book, November 19, 1747.

²¹ I. Grubb, *Quakerism and Industry*, 175.

²² J. T. Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization, Middle Colonies*, 207. This author contributes Quaker loss of leadership to a lack of higher education.

singular contributions offered by so many people of diverse cultural heritage.

Philadelphians were very proud of their thriving young city on the Delaware and in their travels seldom found a city which seemed so beautiful and pleasant. James Pemberton noted the contrast between Pennsylvania and the South on his trip through Virginia and the Carolinas in 1745. Buildings generally became inferior upon entering Virginia, and farms were not tended so well. But, if he did not like the Southern towns and countryside, he was forced to acknowledge his surprise at the hospitality with which he was received by the Southern people. They "have at all places treated us with great civility and are full of compliments which make us appear singular, as we do not return them in the same style . . .," James wrote home.²³ Three years later when in England he observed that Kent was a "delightful county, but London . . . a disagreeable dirty hole" and made one wish he were back in Philadelphia.²⁴

The Pemberton family were great travelers and almost every year saw at least one member visiting other provinces, the West Indies, or the British Isles. Notwithstanding hardships and danger, Quaker women often made long journeys with but female companions.²⁵ For example, Mary and Polly Pemberton apparently traveled by horseback and alone to Shrewsbury. Frequently, Mary accompanied an English woman preacher from Philadelphia to a neighboring community or colony. Traveling did much to widen the intellectual horizons and lessen the intense provincialism, and no people in America traveled more than the Quakers.

References are made to Israel Pemberton's services in the Meetings of the Society of Friends as early as 1741.²⁶ The Meetings formulated a criterion for the daily conduct of Quakers: marriages, irregularities of life, the poor, education, debtors, quit-rents, navigation laws, and war—all were considered, and the necessary "disci-

²³ Pemberton Papers, III, 181.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 174.

²⁵ Catherine Payton, an English Friend, traveled nearly nine thousand miles in the Colonies during three years' religious visit, 1753-1756. See J. Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America*, II, 277.

²⁶ Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, 11 mo., 29, 1740-1741.

pline" provided for guiding and correcting the conduct of Friends. A strict ban was set against marrying outside the Society, a rule which tended to prevent a weakening and disintegration within the Society, but which also operated to isolate and lessen its influence.²⁷ Traveling preachers, likewise, constituted a cohesive and integrating element in the Quaker world. The advice and admonition spoken by traveling preachers stimulated religious thought and often stirred the Friends to embark upon progressive and humanitarian endeavors. English preaching Friends, when in America, habitually sought out the home of Israel Pemberton, where they were certain of a cordial reception. After their visit, their host often conducted them from colony to colony as they delivered religious messages.

In 1754, Pemberton accompanied Daniel Stanton to the Yearly Meeting at Newport, Rhode Island. They traveled by horseback to New York, but before they arrived, Israel's horse became lame. Reaching New York they opened veins in the animal's neck and leg and administered a dram of liquor which, however, failed to cure the lameness. Whereupon, Israel hired a sloop to carry them to Newport by way of Long Island Sound. They planned to leave the city the next morning, and as it was early afternoon, Pemberton proposed having a five o'clock Meeting. "Notice was given & ab't the time appointed 60 or 70 frds [Friends] & others mett together, & we spent ab't two hours to satisfaction. . . ." ²⁸ They embarked and set sail about seven the next morning, but stopped to take aboard Thomas Rodman and family at Flushing. The next four days, to the vexation of all, were spent battling contrary winds and making very little headway. They made but eight miles the second day; the third day they made some progress, but by four o'clock the sea was running so high the horses could not keep their feet, and the captain was obliged to anchor in Huntington Bay. On the fifth day, they were still at Huntington Bay, waiting for the wind to change and the weather to clear; unfortunately Israel's diary, or what remains of it, ends here.²⁹

Upon the death of John Kinsey in 1750, Israel Pemberton was

²⁷ Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, 196.

²⁸ Israel Pemberton's notes on his trip to Newport, June, 1754, Cox, Parrish, Wharton Collection, XII.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

appointed clerk in his stead of the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.³⁰ This office he held for about fifteen years, after which it was occupied by James Pemberton. In 1754, with public affairs already absorbing so much of his time, Israel had declined to succeed his father as clerk of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia.³¹

Some writers on Quaker history have thought that the Meetings were customarily conducted by democratic methods.³² However, a study of the journals of the Philadelphia Meetings suggests that the control was oligarchical rather than democratic; decisions invariably were rendered by the leaders of the Meeting, and wealth for the most part was synonymous with leadership. Prominent members customarily decided before the Meetings what questions would be presented and discussed, and the rank and file were quite certain to fall in line. The records show the same names appearing over and over again with occasional new ones added, as old members died and new men of distinction took their places. By 1750, no leader in Quaker society in Pennsylvania exercised more influence in the Meetings and with Friends than Israel Pemberton, who in later life acquired the fitting sobriquet "King of the Quakers." An entry in Christopher Marshall's diary discloses that one day

at Quaker meeting house market street Is [Israel] Pemberton & John Lynn sitting in the galary to keep the boys quiet, the french man of Isaac Gray's named Antony Tobberany stood up to speak upon which Is. Pemberton made haste down, got up to him and ordered him to stop which he declined by saying he would obey God before man, upon which Is. Pemberton took him by his collar and oblided him to sit down, and sat by him. . . .³³

Israel Pemberton served from 1743 until his death in 1779 as clerk for the Quaker schools. A school was established by the Quakers and chartered by William Penn soon after Philadelphia was

³⁰ Smith MSS, III, 184.

³¹ Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, 1745-1755, 192.

³² I. Grubb writes of the Meetings: "These monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings for discussion, . . . the fact that the spiritual gifts of even the poorest servant girl were recognized and acknowledged, all ought to have developed in the individual an absence of class feeling and a breadth of interest which would react favorably on his attitude towards those with whom he had economic relations." *Quakerism and Industry*, 178.

³³ C. Marshall's Diary, March 27, 1775 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

settled. The Quaker aim in education was both utilitarian and cultural. For the former, they established the English school which taught navigation, accounting, geography, higher mathematics, surveying, and modern languages. For the latter, they had the Latin School which, although offering many of the above subjects, placed the emphasis on classical learning. Quaker education was, therefore, in marked contrast to the usual sectarian higher education of the time, which gave little attention to anything but preparing young men for the ministry. In passing, it should be noted that by the middle of the eighteenth century there were several private schools in Philadelphia devoted mainly to practical or vocational education. Therefore, when Franklin's Philadelphia Academy offered a liberal curriculum in 1754, no radical change in education was initiated. The Academy, it is true, soon had a somewhat fuller course of studies than the Quakers offered but until the Revolution one was essentially as much a college as the other.³⁴ Throughout the colonial period the Quakers trained their leaders well, but through a steady loss in membership from the wealthy, educated class, the Society fell into a state of intellectual decay. Concomitantly, Quaker schools lost their progressiveness and failed to develop into colleges or universities.

As clerk, Israel Pemberton devoted much time to school administration. The schools were financed by tuition and the interest on legacies left by public-minded Friends. Pemberton rented out school property, collected rents, received applications from poor parents for the schooling of their children, negotiated with prospective teachers, and supervised the building of new schools and the repairing of old ones.³⁵ The frequent exhaustion of the treasury often prompted him to grant the schools loans, the interest on which he invariably returned to the school for the purchase of books and other supplies.³⁶

³⁴ J. Mulhern, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, 60-64, 101, 199-202; W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, 533-538; T. Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania*, 9-25.

³⁵ Minutes of the Overseers, I, *passim* (Provident Trust Company, Philadelphia).

³⁶ The first school was erected in 1712 on Strawberry Alley. Previously, classes were conducted in rooms rented for the purpose. The institution as founded by William Penn was revived in the middle of the nineteenth century after being closed for some time. It is now known as the Penn Charter School. Pemberton, incidentally, has had the longest clerkship to date. See J. Jackson, *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia*, III, 704-706; Minutes of the Overseers, I, 54, 94.

The Quaker schools of Philadelphia had enrolled about two hundred students in 1759, the majority of which were Quaker children.³⁷ Philadelphia was then a city of about twenty thousand, of which one-fifth or one-fourth were estimated to be Friends. This can only mean that a rather small percentage of Quaker children attended school. Some, of course, were tutored at home, but work called many from school at a tender age, while still others received no formal education at all.³⁸ The Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey in 1750 recommended that the Quarterly Meetings consider means for increasing the number of schools.³⁹ A few years later, Israel Pemberton and Samuel Preston Moore were requested by the Overseers to petition the Assembly for an extension of the school charter to allow the establishment under it of schools in other parts of the Province, but nothing apparently came of it.⁴⁰ Pemberton was convinced of the need and importance of education. He realized the obstacles confronting its wider application in America, but he believed that as wealth increased, education would gradually become available to the masses.

The appearance of the humanitarian interest in the colonies has been ascribed to the influence of the evangelist, George Whitefield.⁴¹ This hardly explains the great humanitarian outburst among Friends who generally remained unmoved by Whitefield's impassioned appeals. It likewise overlooks the fact that the Quakers had their own prophet of enlightenment in the person of Samuel Fothergill whose calm admonishments, so unlike Whitefield's rousing exhortations, opened the minds of Friends to the need of greater services to their fellowmen.⁴² It cannot be denied that the humanitarian movement received an essential inspiration from spiritually minded individuals, but this manifestation was but a phase of the eighteenth-century liberalism. It would have done no good to have had reformers and the people unwilling to accept the reforms. The new liberalism was a reaction to the dogmatism and intolerance of the seventeenth century and a product of minds enlightened by the

³⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 185.

³⁸ J. P. Wickersham, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, 225.

³⁹ Smith MSS, III, 184.

⁴⁰ Minutes of the Overseers, I, 183.

⁴¹ Adams, *op. cit.*, 283-284.

⁴² H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, III, 428.

influences of science, education, travel, and other opportunities afforded by the new age.⁴³

The founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital, the first in English America, was largely the work of Quakers. In fostering this humanitarian project, no Friend contributed greater services than Israel Pemberton.⁴⁴ As one of the founders he became a manager and served in this capacity until his death. In a letter to London Quakers requesting financial aid for the institution, Pemberton gave the chief causes which impelled them to found a hospital.

The circumstances of this Province have in a few years been much altered by the addition of a great number persons who arrive here from several parts of Europe, many of whom are poor & settle in remote parts of the country where suitable provision cannot be made for their relief from various disorders of body and mind some of them labor under, the consideration of which hath lately raised in many of the Inhabitants of this city a benevolent concern & engaged them to apply for the assistance of the legislature by whom a law is pass'd & provision made out of the Provincial treasury. . . .⁴⁵

Letters written by James Hamilton, the Governor, and John Smith, an Assemblyman, agree with the reasons given by Pemberton for the founding of the Hospital.⁴⁶ The hospital was purely a charitable enterprise intended to benefit "the poor sick" and "lunaticks." Describing the situation to Thomas Penn, Hamilton wrote:

There being many real objects of compassion in both kinds scattered up and down the province, who from the unskillfulness of the country doctors, and the great charge that would attend the sending for assistance from Phila., languish under diseases that might easily be cured if they had the advantage of good nursing, and the attendance of able surgeons & physicians. . . .⁴⁷

Postwar depression contributed much to the distress of the poor at this time.

⁴³ C. L. Becker, *Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers*, *passim*.

⁴⁴ In his *Autobiography*, Benjamin Franklin gives himself chief credit for establishing the hospital.

⁴⁵ Minutes of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, I, 36-37. Dr. Phineas Bond had urged the founding of a hospital for some time and was no doubt instrumental in awakening Quaker interest.

⁴⁶ Pemberton Papers, VII, 80; Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, I, 157 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁴⁷ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, I, 157.

It appears that there was also another motive impelling Quaker leaders to establish a hospital. At this time Governor Hamilton and leaders of the anti-Quaker party were urging the Assembly to appropriate funds for building and garrisoning a fort at the Forks of the Ohio to forestall French encroachment. No line of argument, however, could arouse the Quaker pacifists in the Assembly to appropriate funds for frontier defense. Israel Pemberton was then a member of the Assembly and apparently exercised more power and influence over that body than any other member. For their positive refusal to vote funds for defense, the Quakers brought upon themselves a great deal of criticism and reproach. In July 1751, Israel Pemberton called upon Governor Hamilton to inform him that Quakers would ask the Proprietor to grant a plot of ground for the Hospital. "You will please to be informed," Hamilton wrote to Thomas Penn, the Proprietor, "that the project of this Hospital took its rise principally among Friends, who as they say, *are desirous of shewing that, when they are not restrained by principle they can be as liberal as others, . . .*"⁴⁸ They desired to convince people that their refusal to support military establishments was due entirely to their pacific principles and not at all to parsimony. A few years later, when Pennsylvania was swept into the French and Indian War, Quakers again attempted to prove their sincerity in opposing war by making a large contribution for the service of peace and to convince the world, as Israel Pemberton explained, that in no way was the Quaker stand due to pecuniary considerations.

The Pennsylvania Assembly obligingly passed an act contributing £2000 for the Hospital on condition that a like amount be raised by subscription among the people.⁴⁹ At a meeting of leading citizens, Richard Peters, S. Hazard, and Israel Pemberton "agreed to go around with the subscription papers . . .," and Pemberton and Franklin were requested to draft an address to the Proprietor for a donation of land for the Hospital.⁵⁰ As it turned out, the contributors were nearly all Quakers, with an average contribution of about £20. Four citizens who gave £100 each were Israel Pemberton, senior, Israel Pemberton, junior, Isaac Norris, and Joshua

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 167. (Italics mine.)

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 157; Pemberton Papers, VII, 80.

⁵⁰ Minutes of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, I, 21 (Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia).

Crosby.⁵¹ The Pemberton family alone gave £300. The quota was soon over-subscribed and the Assembly's contribution turned over to the Managers, who placed most of the money in the hands of Israel Pemberton to be put out at interest until needed.⁵²

Early in 1752, the Hospital began to take form. Israel Pemberton and John Smith waited upon William Allen, the Chief Justice, and had the Assembly's incorporation act confirmed by him; ⁵³ the house of the late John Kinsey was rented, and preparations were made for admitting patients. Israel Pemberton busied himself on a committee procuring beds, furniture, and other necessities, and arranging with doctors for medical and surgical services.⁵⁴ As usual, the Quakers had difficulty with the Proprietary. The lot Thomas Penn wished to appropriate lay next to clay pits filled with stagnant water and rightly considered unhealthful by the Managers.⁵⁵ The south section of the present-day Pennsylvania Hospital, in the familiar Georgian architecture of the period, is the original building erected soon after Penn was persuaded to appropriate the land on Eighth Street between Spruce and Pine.⁵⁶

About the time of the founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Israel Pemberton and Philip Benezet became members of the Union Fire Company. They each gave £6 to the stock of the Company bringing the total to £100. Presently, it was agreed to place the money at interest in the form of a fund for fire insurance for mem-

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 30-34.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 6-9.

⁵³ John Smith's Diary, 1 mo., 20, 1752.

⁵⁴ Minutes of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 23.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 53. Thomas Penn may sincerely have wished to do rightly by the Province but there remains little doubt that his judgment was not always of the best nor his social philosophy a progressive one. Pennsylvania, he thought, instead of providing for the defense of the province, "misapplied" the money for civic betterment. "I think," he said, "their hospital, steeple, bells, unnecessary library with several other things, are reasons why they should not have the appropriations to themselves, . . ." In view of this, one may well agree with Benjamin Franklin that the sooner Pennsylvania saw the last of Proprietary government the better. See Peters' MSS, IV, 4.

⁵⁶ The record for the Pennsylvania Hospital during its early years was not so bad as often was charged by its critics. The first year, 1754-1755, eighty-nine patients were admitted, forty-seven reported cured, seven were relieved, nine died, four pronounced incurable and twenty remained for further treatment. Between 1759 and 1760, one hundred and seventy-three were admitted. Of these, eighty-two were reported cured, ten relieved, three incurable, eleven escaped, fifteen discharged for irregularity, eleven died, and forty-one remained. Minutes of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, I, 173, 207; II, 176.

bers of the Company.⁵⁷ This seems to have been the initial step toward forming the "Contributionship Society" in 1752, the first fire insurance company in America.⁵⁸ It is impossible to say who should have the credit for the idea; the suggestion may have come from Benjamin Franklin, John Smith, Joseph Saunders, Israel Pemberton, or some other person. In any event, the practice had been fairly common for some time in England, and it is not surprising that it should have been adopted by Philadelphians.

Israel Pemberton became widely known for his many private as well as public acts of charity. People wrote from all parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, soliciting his aid and advice.⁵⁹ At one time he wrote to his brother James: "I am inform'd there's a man on board the ship Brotherhood, who was banished from Switzerland for his religion (his bro^r [brother] being lately burnt), & in consideration of his circumstances I intend to solicit a subscription among Friends to pay what he owes. . . ." ⁶⁰ About the same time, John Smith got up a subscription for an unfortunate person, and Israel and his father gave £25 and £30, respectively, to start it.⁶¹

Israel Pemberton's sense of justice was respected as his charity was admired. According to the prevailing practice among Friends in settling civil disputes out of court, Pemberton often acted as arbiter.⁶² In 1769 he undertook to arbitrate a case arising from John Hunt's ill-considered venture into the tobacco trade, against which Israel had warned him. The issue involved a debt of Robert Pleasants', amounting to more than £20,000. Pemberton decided against his cousin, Robert Pleasants, who objected to the payment of certain interest charges. The latter was ill-disposed to honor the decision and it was many years before the unhappy Hunt was fully paid.⁶³ Occasionally, when a Quaker became involved in a lawsuit, Pemberton undertook to argue the case in the man's defense. One

⁵⁷ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LVI, 368.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, XLVI, 253. The "Contributionship Society" is commonly known as the "Hand in Hand" because of the clasped hands on the plaque which marked the buildings of members.

⁵⁹ Pemberton Papers, IV, 94.

⁶⁰ Israel Pemberton to James Pemberton, Oct. 10, 1750, Cox, Parrish, Wharton Collection, XII.

⁶¹ John Smith's Diary, 11 mo., 13, 1749.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 5 mo., 2, 1750. Arbitration of civil disputes out of court is now common in England and gaining popularity in America.

⁶³ Pemberton Papers, XV, 94; XX, 24; XVI, 73, 92.

time he pleaded before Tench Francis, the Chief Justice, for James Read, lawyer: "Jimmy's courage not being equal to his judgment. . . ." ⁶⁴ The occasion must have given Pemberton great satisfaction for the complainant was none other than William Allen, his chief political foe. ⁶⁵

While Israel Pemberton was aiding and promoting the civic advancement of Philadelphia as well as accumulating a fortune by trade, his mind continually turned to spiritual and philosophical considerations. But it was easier for him to promote civic enterprises or lend a hand to a fellowman than to acquire the "humility" which he confessed was "the foundation of every true Christian's entrance & advancement in the work of religion. . . ." His efforts to curb his natural self-assertiveness and to acquire a habit of mind, humble and contrite, were not richly rewarded. However, his life became more consistent with his religious professions as he became older. His strength rested in his sincerity, initiative, and resourcefulness, and in the tenacity with which he followed what he considered to be "truth."

⁶⁴ John Smith's Diary, 12 mo., 21, 1746. James Read was Israel Pemberton's cousin.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

ISRAEL PEMBERTON ENTERS POLITICS

PENNSYLVANIA politics, in the middle of the eighteenth century, manifested a vigor and intensity indicative of the involvement of stirring issues and opposing interests. By 1740 the issues that were to harass the Province for the next generation were drawn, and the events of succeeding years only intensified and heightened the political struggle without materially altering the issues. Ever since the founding of the Province, the legislative Assembly had been in the hands of the Quakers, who prided themselves upon having provided intelligent and serviceable laws for the country. Before 1740, parties in Pennsylvania more or less comprised groups seeking merely to obtain or retain power for the personal satisfaction rendered; but thereafter war provoked serious issues regarding defense, pacifism, authority, taxation, and currency. In that year England went to war with Spain and five years later France became the latter's ally. Consequently, the whole Quaker experiment as a pacifist commonwealth, apparently so incongruous within an imperialistic empire and world, was put to its supreme test.

The short interval between King George's War, which ended in 1748, and the French and Indian War, which began in 1755, afforded the rival nations a breathing spell and time to make a series of maneuvers preparatory to the final struggle for supremacy. Pennsylvania, as the keystone in the British North American possessions, increasingly assumed a strategic position in this great imperial struggle. To the west it opened upon the coveted Ohio valley and the Great Lake country, soon to be seized and fortified by the French; to the south it was the gateway into the Shenandoah and adjacent valleys, which were rapidly being settled and already formed important north and south highways; to the north its valleys led into the heart of the Iroquois Confederacy, replete with much

good or evil for the English colonies. The whole west, the prize sought by war and diplomacy, spread out like a fan from the Province of Pennsylvania.

The wealth, population, and prosperity of the Province augmented its importance. In the eyes of non-Quakers it appeared to be a great defenseless prize waiting to be plucked by the French from land or sea; and for Pennsylvania to have a powerful legislature composed of pacifists, who refused to provide for the common defense, was considered the height of folly. It is not surprising, therefore, that every conceivable means was taken to destroy the Quaker party and drive its representatives from the Assembly. Friends, on the other hand, believed that if they lost control of the Assembly, the civil and religious liberties for which the colony had been established would be destroyed or seriously endangered. The Quakers fully understood how little their cherished civil-religious liberties were respected by their adversaries at large. Loss of control of the Assembly might well mean compulsory military service as well as discriminatory laws and taxes against pacifists. The Quakers maintained that their philosophy of government, besides constituting a shield for the rights of minorities, offered Pennsylvania the best possible protection for the lives and property of all. They pointed to Pennsylvania's long-standing friendship with the Indians—a relationship founded upon the principle of brotherly love and in marked contrast to the bloody wars between white and red men in colonies where the arbitrary power of force was employed. To the Quakers, their commonwealth was a "Holy Experiment" which in time would demonstrate to the world the efficacy and wisdom of building society upon the principles of universal brotherhood.¹

The sons of William Penn, now the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, although nominally still Friends, were quite out of sympathy with Quaker principles and interests.² The Proprietors realistically viewed the problems of Pennsylvania as a whole and endeavored to steer a moderate course except, perhaps, in instances where their personal interests were at stake. They, naturally, favored erecting

¹ The Quakers were accused of inconsistency for defending the use of capital punishment.

² Thomas Penn, the second son of William Penn, who was chiefly concerned in the management of Pennsylvania, married Lady Juliana, daughter of the Earl of Pomfret, in 1751 and thereafter attended the Anglican church.

strong defenses for the Province and in time of war fully supported the British imperial program. War intensified old issues, and in the heated struggle with the Proprietors for a greater quantity of paper money, for taxation of Proprietary estates, and for abolishing Proprietary instructions to the governor, the Quaker Assembly was supported by all classes in Pennsylvania.

It was in 1739, when Israel Pemberton was twenty-four years of age, that he was first found championing government by Quaker principles. No doubt his zeal exceeded his discretion, but this was not unusual, for even in his mature years, he seldom held his tongue through fear of giving offense. He now openly and fearlessly accused the Governor (who was doing his utmost to force measures for defense upon the inflexible Quakers) of a design to undermine the Pennsylvania Charter and deprive the people of their constituted rights. In the words of Alexander Graydon, the chief witness for the Governor: "Israel Pemberton Junr., did say That they know what the Governor was before he came over, and what they had expected from him. That it was his Design or Endeavor to overturn the Constitution and reduce this to a King's Government, . . ." ³ When Graydon mentioned that the dispute would probably be placed before the English government, Israel replied, "that he did not doubt but the governor would make use of all his friends to set the Assembly in the Wrong, and that he would make an unjust Representation of that Matter." ⁴ A little later, when Israel heard that his words had been taken to the Governor, he declared that he was very glad, "since by this means he had heard Truths which the Sycophants who kept the Governor company would never tell him. . . ." ⁵

But Israel, who had taken off with a good start, did not end so well. The Governor, incensed by Pemberton's boldness, proposed that a warrant be issued for his arrest and presentment before the Council to answer for his slander and insults against the chief executive and his office. However, Israel managed to keep himself out of the sheriff's reach until finally, on the third day, the elder Pemberton succeeded in having the warrant withdrawn because of "the

³ *Colonial Records*, IV, 389-390.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 390.

⁵ *Ibid.*

great Predjudice" to Israel's business from having to keep within the confines of his home. The Governor closed the incident after declaring that Israel, by refusing to appear, had demonstrated his inability to defend his conduct.⁶

The Quaker Assembly based its pacific policy upon the doctrine that Pennsylvania, founded as an asylum for all those desiring to live at peace with their fellowmen, was prohibited by its charter from allowing any military establishment by law. Friends, however, did not deny the people of Pennsylvania the right to defend themselves if they chose, nor the Governor the power to organize a volunteer force, and some hinted that if this were done, the Assembly would furnish him with an appropriation for the "King's use."⁷ But Governor Thomas, who had little patience with half-way measures, chose "to run a tilt with the religious opinions of a people who measured their merit by the extent of suffering for conscience sake," and proposed a law requiring military service from all men or commutation by payment of an exemption fee.⁸ Against this the Quaker Assembly stood adamant.

Although positively refusing before 1755 to erect defenses or establish a militia, the Quaker Assembly seldom went so far as to ignore British orders for colonial aid in time of war. In so far as possible, grants were made to the British treasury so as not to be concerned with its appropriation for the prosecution of war. In addition, the Assembly did not find it inconsistent to supply provisions for armies raised by the Crown or by another colony, or, on occasions to provide funds for the transportation of troops. Quakers were mainly persuaded to vote these funds through fear that refusal would jeopardize the Pennsylvania Charter and endanger Quaker political hegemony.

In 1740 the Quaker Assembly, after failing to find Pennsylvania exempted by Royal instructions, voted £3,000 for transporting troops to Jamaica, but, when indentured servants were enlisted for

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 391-393.

⁷ Governor Thomas did not see fit to construe legislative appropriations literally, once declaring that "other grains" in an act for provisioning troops meant gunpowder; in fact, whenever funds were available, he freely purchased military supplies regardless of the letter of the law. See C. P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania from the English Revolution to the Peace of Aix-la Chapelle, 1688-1748*, II, 823-824.

⁸ T. F. Gordon, *A History of Pennsylvania from Its Discovery by Europeans to 1776*, 227-228.

the campaign, the Assembly declared the appropriation contingent upon their restoration.⁹ The Governor, however, allowed the servants to go, and the Assembly withheld the money and petitioned the British government for compensation for the masters.¹⁰ Crown officials dismissed the matter after stating that the Pennsylvania Assembly had balanced accounts when it rescinded the act appropriating £3,000.¹¹ The Assembly, therefore, upon the advice of British authorities, ordered that the claims be met, resulting in a payment of £2,500 for three hundred servants.¹²

Naturally, division arose over the question of defense among the Quakers themselves. A minority, headed by James Logan, the Proprietary Secretary for Pennsylvania, supported a policy of defense by which forts and garrisons would be established along the Delaware River and in the west.¹³ These Friends endeavored to persuade their brethren, who were intransigently opposed to any military establishments, to decline standing for election to the Assembly. If "defense" Quakers were elected, they argued, the British government would be satisfied and the Charter in no danger of being annulled. The issue became crucial in the fall of 1741. Robert Jordan, Quaker, carried the matter to the Yearly Meeting, where he presented a pamphlet urging the establishment of a militia and the building of forts. He asked all who could not countenance measures for defense to resign from the Assembly or refuse to stand for election.¹⁴ The pamphlet unjustly accused all strict Quakers with

⁹ Peters' Letter Book, July 31, 1740; Pemberton Papers, III, 34; Gordon, *op. cit.*, 230-232.

¹⁰ Pemberton Papers, III, 38. Quakers were incensed by Governor Thomas' order to enlist servants right in the midst of the harvest season. Describing the reaction, Peters declared that "insolent and rude speeches . . . are made against all in authority, the King not excepted, by the young fry of Quakers." See Peters' Letter Book, August 30, 1740.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² K. F. Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 97; Gordon, *op. cit.*, 234.

¹³ M. P. Wolff, *The Colonial Agency of Pennsylvania, 1712-1757*, 81.

¹⁴ Pemberton Papers, III, 48. The Quakers were regularly accused of using their Meetings, especially the Yearly Meeting, which preceded the annual election, for political purposes. Some writers on Quaker history hold that there exists no proof of this and believe the charges, current at the time, were but the misrepresentations of political foes. A study of colonial records, however, leaves little doubt that the Yearly Meeting was tantamount to a party caucus where candidates were selected and policies decided upon. See I. Sharpless, *Political Leaders*, 145; Franklin Papers, X, 2 (University of Pennsylvania).

opposing defense for purely parsimonious reasons. James Logan declared he could not understand how certain Friends (his relatives, the Pembertons, especially) could be so set against bearing arms and at the same time have so little regard for other Christian precepts, "full as express, against laying up Treasure in this World."¹⁵

The majority of the Quakers refused to be swayed by the arguments of the martial Friends, and if any action was taken by the Meetings it was for abiding by their principles. The pacifist Quakers carried the election by a substantial majority, the Germans as usual supporting them almost to a man.¹⁶ The Governor had fatuously believed that the Quakers would lose their control of the Assembly, and great was his chagrin when, contrary to prediction, they won an easy victory.¹⁷

However, it was entirely within the range of possibility that the Governor's party might eventually emerge the victor in the contest. Charges were continually being made to Crown officials against Pennsylvania's unpatriotic conduct, and the Governor's party lived in hope that the Quakers would over-reach themselves and be barred from holding office by order of the English government. In 1740, Thomas Penn presented to the House of Lords all the messages that had passed between the Governor and the Pennsylvania Assembly over the appropriation for troop transportation and the enlistment of servants.¹⁸ It was generally believed that the Quakers would have to be exceptionally chary now in registering complaints with Crown officials against the Governor or Proprietors, for action against the Pennsylvania Charter might well be the upshot of it all. "For if they are so Infatuated," wrote Thomas Penn, "as to tell his Majesty that they will do nothing for the General Service, But do everything to Prevent great numbers of his subjects from assisting him, they will Transfer the Dispute that had been between them & the Govern't [Proprietary governor] to be between his Majesty and them."¹⁹

Upon winning the election of 1741, the Quaker Assembly voted £3,000 "for the King's use." In the words of Isaac Norris, Quaker

¹⁵ G. A. Cribbs, *The Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania*, 38-39.

¹⁶ Quakers appealed to German thrift by declaring the election of the Governor's party would mean higher taxes for all. See Pemberton Papers, III, 51.

¹⁷ Pemberton Papers, III, 34.

¹⁸ Wolff, *op. cit.*, 99.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 100.

politician, this action was taken to "Demonstrate our loyalty and readiness to give to our abilities as far as consistent with our Religious princip^s [principles]. . . ." ²⁰ Richard Peters, however, attributed this sudden fit of generosity "to their knowledge of a certain petition being gone home against them & not to their sympathy for their fellow subjects of Great Britain. . . ." ²¹ The struggle between the rival parties did not abate after the election; the Quakers declared they would have the Governor ousted, while their opponents swore that they would have the Quakers turned out of the Assembly by order of the British government. ²² The Assembly felt quite confident of frustrating the attacks of the opposition by occasional grants to the King's use, notwithstanding the fact that these were manifestly less than Pennsylvania's share in imperial defense. The Governor, on the other hand, succinctly summed up the official case against the Quakers. "If your principles," he said, "will not allow you to provide arms for the defense of the inhabitants, if they will not allow you to raise men for his Majestie's service for distressing an insolent enemy,—is it calumny to say your principles are inconsistent with the ends of government?" ²³

While debate ran high over the question of defense the Assembly, in the traditional role of legislatures, labored to aggrandize its powers at the expense of the executive. Commenting on this, Richard Peters said, "Whilst the Assembly[men] are petitioning the Prop^rs to remove ye Gov^r for encroachments & clandestine attempts on their rights & privileges, they are not ashamed openly to usurp powers they have no pretence or claim to . . . ," and he concluded that the legislature wished "to carry ye power of Assemblys to a height that will render Governors little more than cyphers, . . ." ²⁴ The Assembly of Maryland, especially, emulated Pennsylvania in legislative usurpation and gave the Calvert family all the headaches of proprietaryship which the Penns experienced. ²⁵ In Pennsylvania the difficulty was not that William Penn had failed to give the Assembly large powers, but that it had not been granted all the powers

²⁰ Norris' Letter Book, 1719-1756, 11.

²¹ Peters' Letter Book, December 3, 1741.

²² *Ibid.*, November 4, 1741.

²³ I. Sharpless, *History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania*, I, 208.

²⁴ Peters' Letter Book, January 21, 1741.

²⁵ N. D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, 317.

of government. The legislature was unicameral—the governor's council not forming an upper house as was the rule in the colonies. Furthermore, the Assembly had complete control over its meetings, sessions, and adjournment, and the choice of its officers.²⁶ But the Assembly's appetite grew with its power so that before the end of the French and Indian War it had virtually attained legislative supremacy.

Political affairs came to a head with the election of 1742. The Quakers with their political allies, the Germans, knew they had nothing to fear from an orderly election. But somehow word went forth on the morning of the election that an attempt would be made by the minority party to use violence to gain possession of the polls. About seven o'clock in the morning, forty or fifty sailors gathered at one of the wharves with clubs in their hands, remarking to one another that a "plain coat & broad hat" would identify the object of their mission.²⁷ A little later, as they passed along Water Street, Israel Pemberton and some fellow citizens warned them to keep away from the Court House where the election was held.

Shortly thereafter, several arguments and minor clashes ensued between the townspeople and the sailors, one of which ended in a sea captain striking Israel Pemberton. In any event the sailors soon appeared at the Court House and when a freeman, with more zeal than judgment, made at one of them with a heavy rail capped with iron, the sailors fell with clubs upon the crowd of voters. Peters' version has it that "they fell at a barbarous rate on the magistrates, constable, & gentlemen that were near them, knocking down all before them without regard to party."²⁸ It so happened that the sailors withdrew about as abruptly as the assault began, but after failing to get some liquor promised them by certain Quakers, they flew into a rage and started for the Court House again. "In one minute," Peters declared, they "dispers'd 500 Dutch & others, knock'd all down that were upon ye stairs & laid ab't 'em in ye most shocking

²⁶ Gordon, *op. cit.*, 223–224. James Harrington's *Oceana* was William Penn's chief guide for his frame of government for Pennsylvania. The Province had the most liberal franchise in America, extending suffrage to all males, twenty-one years of age, native or naturalized, owning fifty acres or fifty pounds clear estate. See Gordon, *op. cit.*, 556, 565.

²⁷ Peters' Letter Book, November 17, 1742.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

manner eye ever beheld, . . ." ²⁹ But the victory was short lived. The Germans, who soon rallied, made a furious charge which completely routed the sailors. "On this reverse of things several mag-nanimous heroes made their appearance, young Israel Pemberton in particular ventur'd out of ye Court House chimney & . . . help'd to drag ye sailors to prison." ³⁰

The riot was laid at the door of William Allen, who, being unable to get the people's votes, the Quakers declared, intended to club them into voting for him. Peters and others feared Allen or some of his associates (perhaps unknown to him) had solicited aid from the sailors. The Proprietary party believed the election would be close as a result of their efforts to divide the Germans. But it was doubtful that an election could be won in the county of Philadelphia without controlling the stairs leading from the yard to the second floor of the Court House where the ballots were cast. The party that held the stairs was in a position to influence voters to change their ticket or to prevent the casting of votes if necessary. The sailors, therefore, could be used to swell the Proprietary party in the hope of gaining possession of the stairs.³¹ But if this were true the Proprietary leaders had failed to provide the wild sailors with leadership, and the plan had gone awry from the start. As an anti-climax William Allen sued Israel Pemberton for charging that he planned the riot. At this juncture the Assembly began an investigation, partly to support Israel, but also to further blacken the Proprietary leaders. Agents for the Quaker party played up the scandal for all it was worth in England and succeeded, thereby, in regaining much of its former prestige.³²

In 1743 political affairs in Pennsylvania assumed a calmer appearance. The Assembly decided to vote Governor Thomas his salary when he agreed to approve all their bills but one.³³ The next year, however, he refused to pass several of the Assembly's bills and his salary was again withheld. John Kinsey, Speaker of the Assembly, hoped to effect a compromise between the House and the Governor

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Pemberton Papers, III, 56.

³³ Peters' Letter Book, January 30, 1743.

as he had done the previous year.³⁴ Israel Pemberton and others, however, insisted that the salary should be withheld until the Governor sanctioned all the bills offered him. If Kinsey failed to win the support of the Assembly, it was feared that it would be dominated by the resolute Israel Pemberton and his followers. In that event, it was generally conceded, compromise would be quite out of the question and the Governor obliged to submit to legislative dictation or forego his salary. As Peters summed it up: "If John Kinsey loses his influence & ye party falls under the government of Isaac Norris, young Israel Pemberton will have a great stroke in politicks and may infuse his poyson so as to get a majority of ye House on his side, . . ." ³⁵

But John Kinsey retained his leadership in the Assembly and an understanding was reached in May 1744. The Governor was to receive his arrears and the Quakers were not to be pressed "too much on their religious principles, as they were willing to let no expence be wanting proper to put ye country into a posture of defence, in such manner as their known principles wou'd admit of." ³⁶ Although the Quakers had loosened a bit, they still remained the sole judge as to what constituted necessary and proper measures for defense. In July, Kinsey told Peters that the Assembly would take its time on defense matters, inasmuch as Pennsylvania need not fear invasion with the Indians friendly on the frontier and the coastal waters under the surveillance of the British navy.³⁷

In the election of 1744, Kinsey kept the Quaker party in line. Israel Pemberton endeavored to set up new candidates for Philadelphia county who would abide strictly by pacific principles as well as insist upon measures desired by the Province, but Kinsey, with the Yearly Meeting behind him, "wisely put a stop to the design and there being no opposition, there was but one ticket voted for." ³⁸ After more than a year of political calm Israel Pemberton

³⁴ John Kinsey, an eminent Quaker lawyer, was Speaker of the Assembly from 1740 until his death in 1750. About 1743 he was made Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, an office no doubt conferred upon him by the Governor in recognition of his services in harmonizing the opposing interests.

³⁵ Peters' Letter Book, March 7, 1744. Israel Pemberton was not a member of the Assembly at this time, in fact, he served but one year, 1750-1751, in that body.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, May 24, 1744.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, August 2, 1744.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, October 3, 1744.

was disturbed to learn that Governor Thomas was still secretly backing attempts to oust the Quakers from the Assembly by his support of petitions and lobbies in Parliament, but not many Quakers wished to reopen the dispute, and the reports were laid aside.³⁹

Late in 1747 Benjamin Franklin originated a plan for the defense of Pennsylvania which aimed to obtain the support of all moderate persons—Quakers as well as others. The chief need for defense lay along the Delaware, which without fortifications was exposed to the attacks of the enemy. Already French and Spanish privateers had made raids as far up the river as Newcastle.⁴⁰ To gain the support of Quakers by quieting their apprehensions, he printed some excerpts from Robert Barclay's *Apology* which, apparently, sanctioned the use of military defense. A public meeting was then called at which Franklin proposed forming an association for defense which would raise a large fund by lotteries and organize and equip a militia.⁴¹ The plan was adopted and proved a success; companies were raised and equipped, and many Pennsylvanians felt more secure from attack by the enemy.

Paradoxically enough, the Allen party which had so vehemently attacked the Quakers for opposing defense now refused to coöperate. "Such want of Spirit in people that have been finding fault with the Friends," wrote Thomas Penn, "is really surprising & I am sure it would not have been believed had a prophet foretold it."⁴² William Allen and his friends, it would seem, thought of politics first and public welfare and defense afterward. If the Association proved a success it would enhance the power and prestige of Franklin, who had found it expedient to be included in the Quaker party. William Allen was right in fearing that a successful Association would make political capital for his most dangerous rival. Thomas Penn, too, notwithstanding his concern for Pennsylvania's defense, disliked the Association, for he saw in it a threat to his power and authority as Proprietor. It was an extra-legal organiza-

³⁹ Israel Pemberton to Edmund Peckover, February 13, 1743, S. Parrish, *History of the Friendly Association, Sequel*: Pemberton Papers. Pemberton Papers, III, 170; IV, 24, 36.

⁴⁰ Gordon, *op. cit.*, 256; C. Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, 183.

⁴¹ Peters' Letter Book, November 29, 1747.

⁴² Wolff, *op. cit.*, 114-115.

tion depriving the executive of his traditional and constitutional power over the militia, and he feared it was but part of a settled policy of his enemies to rob him of every prestige of governmental control.⁴³

Interwoven into the pattern of Pennsylvania politics was the question of paper money. On this issue there were few Pennsylvanians, rich or poor, who did not advocate and support a controlled paper currency. The Proprietors, however, after 1750 were critical and increasingly unfriendly toward the policy. In Pennsylvania only the small Proprietary faction (and not all of that) for whom Richard Peters was the principal spokesman opposed the desire of the people. In 1740-1741, as a result of a series of wild and uncontrolled inflations in New England, British officials directed Colonial governors to forbid the issues of bills of credit without a suspending clause stipulating that debts to England must be paid in sterling or the proper ration in paper money.⁴⁴ Whether this order applied to Proprietary colonies was uncertain, although the Board of Trade was of the opinion that it did not.⁴⁵

A few years later a bill was proposed in Parliament which forbade colonial governors to allow paper money issues without suspending clauses.⁴⁶ Immediately protests were raised by practically all American legislatures, and their agents in London were pressed to do their utmost in opposing the bill. John Kinsey wrote to the Pennsylvania agent, Richard Partridge, in December 1744, advising him to get the services of a good lawyer in opposing the measure.⁴⁷ But the exigencies of war pushed aside the paper money bill, and it was not until near the close of the war, in 1748, that the House of Commons revived interest in it.⁴⁸ The chief advocate for the colonies turned out to be General James Oglethorpe, the philanthropist, who had given so much of his time and fortune toward the founding of Georgia.⁴⁹ During the debates on the floor of the House of Commons, members generally confessed their ig-

⁴³ Peters' Letter Book, June 16, 1748.

⁴⁴ W. T. Root, *The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696-1765*, 195-196.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Pemberton Papers, III, 126.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 149.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 168.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 92.

norance of American affairs and seemed quite willing to be informed and hear the colonial case.⁵⁰ The Pembertons were among those who prompted London merchants at this time to defend the Pennsylvania currency at Parliamentary hearings.

Contrary to an opinion held by some historians, the second generation of Pennsylvania Proprietors was not from the first emphatically opposed to the issuance of paper money.⁵¹ In 1739 the Proprietors refused to sanction a money bill without a clause making quitrents derived from certain lands payable in sterling or in paper currency according to the rate of exchange. The Assembly declared this would tend to debase the Pennsylvania money and refused to yield. Finally, the Penns agreed to forego the amendment when the Assembly pledged to pay the Proprietors £1,200 in currency plus an annual stipend of £130.⁵² This settlement apparently was satisfactory to the Proprietors for some time. In 1744, Thomas Penn used his influence to convince British officials that paper money was a necessity in the colonies,⁵³ and again, in 1749, he solicited the aid of London merchants in opposing the paper money bill.⁵⁴ Within the ranks of London merchants there were not a few who heartily supported colonial money, which they recognized as essential to American prosperity upon which British-American trade depended.⁵⁵

When Parliament, in 1751, finally passed a paper money act, the restrictions imposed applied only to New England—the colonies which in contrast to Pennsylvania had demonstrated their inability to use restraint in the issuance of currency.⁵⁶ The fact that after the passage of the paper money act the Proprietors clamped

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Root, *op. cit.*, 191. Root states that the Proprietors always opposed paper money on the assumption that it was not in harmony with their interest in Pennsylvania as a business.

⁵² B. Franklin, printer, *The Charter of the Province of Pennsylvania and City of Philadelphia*, 511; H. Jenkins, *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal*, I, 387; B. W. Bond, *The Quitrent System in the American Colonies*, 144-145; Gordon, *op. cit.*, 210, 335-336.

⁵³ Wolff, *op. cit.*, 130.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁵⁵ The Pemberton Papers convey the support London Quaker merchants gave Pennsylvania's currency system.

⁵⁶ Wolff, *op. cit.*, 134-135. Rhode Island alone had £312,000 in paper bills in 1747 and £525,335 in 1750. See H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, III, 258, 263.

down on the enlargement of Pennsylvania currency often has been interpreted as proof of their insincerity in opposing the measure. But it seems that several considerations caused them to become more critical of Provincial currency expansion. First of all they desired to prevent the extension of the English law to Pennsylvania. Important, likewise, is the fact that they feared the Proprietary rents would be reduced by an inflated currency.⁵⁷ Lastly, they may have doubted that Provincial business warranted the issuance of more paper money.⁵⁸

In 1752 the Assembly passed a bill for the reissuance of £80,000 of bills of credit and for the creation of £40,000 in new bills. Following Proprietary instructions, Governor Hamilton refused to sanction the measure unless a suspending clause was attached. The Assembly refused on the grounds that neither the royal order of 1741 nor the Parliament act of 1751 applied to Pennsylvania, and there was no reason to believe that the British government would disapprove of the measure.⁵⁹ A suspending clause, the Assembly declared, would create two standards of value in the colony, causing the paper to depreciate in favor of the higher standard based upon the rate of exchange. This would cause a greater fluctuation in the value of paper money as it followed the varying rates of exchange, and, through the element of uncertainty, business would decline. Whereas, Crown regulation of currency was a stabilizing factor in New England, in Pennsylvania, where the paper money was well planned and controlled, it would prove otherwise.

While the Governor and Assembly were disagreeing over the terms of the money bill in 1752,⁶⁰ the Loan Office, whose function was to place the currency in circulation by loans against real estate,

⁵⁷ Only part of the Proprietary quitrents came under the settlement of 1739.

⁵⁸ Mabel Wolff thinks that the Penns fought expansion of paper money to shield the Province from Parliamentary censure. Letters from Richard Peters to Thomas Penn were unsparingly critical of the Pennsylvania monetary policy and may have played no small part in influencing him. See Peters' Letter Book, April 29, 1749.

⁵⁹ Root, *op. cit.*, 198-199.

⁶⁰ In addition to the dispute over a suspending clause was another concerning the manner in which the notes would be redeemed. In Pennsylvania, where excise taxes were appropriated for the redemption of currency, a dispute invariably arose over the period of time the excise was to run. The Assembly held out for long terms of ten to sixteen years, during which the funds derived would be at its disposal. In this way the Assembly strove to make itself independent of the governor in financial matters for long periods of time. See Gordon, *op. cit.*, 274.

was extremely short of funds. More than one thousand persons were on its waiting list, and only small sums could be given to each borrower.⁶¹ The Proprietors, as well as many Pennsylvanians, had much to gain by the enlargement of the Loan Office funds which would promote the sale of land and real estate development. Thomas Penn realized this and would not have opposed paper money issues if the Assembly's terms did not outweigh the benefits to the Proprietors. This is shown by the fact that in 1753, Penn suggested that new bills be issued for the advancement of business and lessening the excises for current expenses.⁶²

⁶¹ Gordon, *op. cit.*, 273.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 265.

CHAPTER V

PENNSYLVANIA AND THE OHIO QUESTION

EARLY in the decade of the 1750's when the Quakers still had a firm grasp on Pennsylvania politics, few men were more influential in Provincial affairs than Israel Pemberton. Although he had already made a bid for leadership in the Quaker party and had been an unsuccessful candidate for the Assembly,¹ it was not until his father withdrew from active politics in 1750 that he was elected to the Assembly. However, in 1751, after serving only one year in the Assembly, he was not returned, and thereafter he was content to manage his politics outside the legislative halls.²

The problem of war and defense did not cease with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ending King George's War, but constantly engaged the attention of British and Colonial leaders throughout the following seven years of peace. French and English, alike, viewed with alarm any attempt of the other to strengthen or advance itself in the coveted Ohio Valley. At the close of the war, the English held a distinct vantage over the French in this vast wilderness by having practically excluded them from the fur trade. Among the English certain Maryland and Virginia traders were engaged in the Ohio fur trade, but by far the greater share was in the hands of Pennsylvanians.³

¹ John Smith's Diary, 1 mo., 1, 1749.

² *Ibid.*, 8 mo., 2, 1750. Here and there in John Smith's Diary, one finds interesting anecdotes relating to the political methods employed in colonial Pennsylvania. For September 25, 1750, he wrote: "spent the eveng at Uncle & Isse Pembertons with John Evans and other friends in endeavoring to settle the Assembly ticket." After the party leaders had made the nominations, the candidates printed ballots at their own expense, which were distributed by friends and supporters among the voters. John Smith noted on an election day that he had been "about the town . . . spreading ticketts for Isaac Griffiths. . . ."

³ The Pennsylvania influence over the Ohio Indians reached its height by the treaty of Logstown in 1748, as the result of the work of Conrad Weiser, the Pennsylvania Indian agent.

The initiative toward permanently occupying the territory, however, came from Virginia and not from Pennsylvania. In 1749, a group of prominent Virginia gentlemen were given a royal grant of 200,000 acres of land and an option on 300,000 more in the region below the Forks of the Ohio. To supplement the royal grant, the Virginians announced that they had acquired a release of the lands from the Six Nations at Lancaster in 1744. Thus appeared the well known Ohio Land Company. From the outset the Virginians realized that they must combat intercolonial as well as French intrigue and jealousy. Thomas Lee, one of the leading stockholders in the Ohio Company, was soon compelled to complain to Governor Hamilton that Pennsylvania fur traders were inciting the Indians against the Virginians.⁴

Naturally the Pennsylvania Proprietors refused to admit the validity of Virginia's title to land near the Forks of the Ohio, and both Governor Hamilton and Secretary Peters desired that Pennsylvania assert a claim to the land in question.⁵ But the Pennsylvania Assembly, on the plea that such a move might be construed as an admission of the existence of an obligation on the part of the Assembly to defend the country against the French, steadfastly refused to support the Proprietors.

While the Virginians were preparing to develop their land grant and the Pennsylvania government was deadlocked over the question of supporting the Proprietary claim to any part of the trans-Allegheny country, the French were preparing to take the initiative in securing the valley by erecting forts and winning over or cowing the Indians. In the face of the French threat, Virginia and Pennsylvania for a time forgot their jealousy as correspondence between the governors turned upon joint or concerted action in the West. Concurrently, Pennsylvania fur traders, acutely concerned in the fate of the West, pressed the Pennsylvania government to fortify the Ohio against French aggression. Foremost among these was George Croghan, a principal Pennsylvania fur trader, who plainly envisaged certain ruin to all English fur traders if the French succeeded in their design.⁶ The western cause was further

⁴ *Colonial Records*, V, 422-423.

⁵ Weiser Correspondence, I, 38 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁶ For the life of George Croghan see A. T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Western Movement, 1741-1782*.

strengthened by receipt of a letter from Thomas Penn offering £400 toward a western fort in addition to £100 per annum for its maintenance.⁷

To make measures for the security of the Ohio more attractive to the Quakers, George Croghan sent a letter to the Governor in which he stated that the Indians feared the French and favored a Pennsylvania fort in their country.⁸ Governor Hamilton, fortified by Penn's offer of financial aid and Croghan's reputed appeal from the Indians, called together Isaac Norris, Israel Pemberton, and other Assembly leaders in the hope of persuading them to make a concession in behalf of western defense. But although the Quakers acknowledged the Proprietor's offer to be generous they would not recede from a policy of non-defense. "I could fairly perceive," confided Hamilton to Penn, "they are very apprehensive of the measures the French are taking, and ashamed at not being able to close with your proposal, but it was said, that to do anything of that kind would be acting against the principles they professed, . . ." ⁹

In April 1751, Croghan wrote again to Hamilton urging him to act with haste inasmuch as the French soon were expected to build at least three forts on the Ohio, force the Indians to join them, and drive the English beyond the mountains.¹⁰ Again Governor Hamilton appealed to the Assembly for help. Describing the affair to Thomas Penn, he wrote:

I acquainted both Mr. Norris and Mr. Pemberton (our two leading members) with my information upon this head, and shew'd them the likelihood of our entirely losing the Indian trade, unless some scheme could be fallen on to erect an house for the security of our traders & Indian allies, . . . but in return received none but trifling evasive answers, that meant nothing.¹¹

Discouraging as the prospect of aid from the Quaker Assembly appeared, Governor Hamilton did not lose heart. He continued by private conversations with Pemberton and Norris to press upon

⁷ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, V, 129.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 133.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, V, 135. During these months the Pennsylvania Hospital was born. See pp. 36-38.

them the importance of safeguarding Pennsylvania's western interests. But his efforts were unavailing although the Quakers had little to say against the reasonableness of the measures other than reminding Hamilton of their religious persuasion.¹²

In September it so happened that Andrew Montour, an Indian interpreter of mixed breed, came to Philadelphia and was questioned by the Assembly regarding the sentiments of the Ohio Indians toward a Pennsylvania fort in their country. To the surprise of all, Montour reported that the proposal for a fort had come from Croghan and not from the Indians, who had only promised to consider the proposition. Montour further declared that he believed the Indians would never consent to a fort in their country.¹³ Israel Pemberton headed the committee which interviewed the Indians and reported the findings to the Governor. The committee suggested that the Proprietors might better help the Assembly defray Indian expenses than furnish money for a fort, friendship with the natives being a stronger tie than force.¹⁴ Hamilton, who was greatly embarrassed by the disclosure, was compelled to admit that Croghan had misrepresented the sentiments of the Indians,¹⁵ whereupon the Assembly with alacrity seized the occasion to excuse itself for not establishing western defenses for fear of alienating the friendship of the Redmen.¹⁶

But if Croghan exaggerated the feelings of the Ohio Indians for the English, he did not exaggerate the French threat to Pennsylvania's interest in the trans-Allegheny. That he, himself, and the English in general, suffered from his over-zealous reports to Governor Hamilton is plain. The latter, detached as he was in Philadelphia from the scene of western events, never fully appreciated the seriousness of the French threat, and after coming to believe that Croghan had tricked him, he was inclined to minimize alarming reports from the West. Even in June, before Montour brought Croghan into disrepute, Hamilton confessed that he did not believe the situation warranted pressing the Assembly too hard, and

¹² *Ibid.*, V, 157.

¹³ *Ibid.*, V, 173.

¹⁴ *Votes of the Assembly*, IV, 193.

¹⁵ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, V, 193.

¹⁶ Norris' Letter Book, 1719-1756, 68.

after Montour's disclosure he felt almost guilty for having endeavored to convince Pemberton and Norris of the need for speedy and firm measures.¹⁷

A year passed and still the French made no move to possess the Ohio and defy the English. Then in the spring of 1753 came startling reports from New York that the French were carrying large quantities of supplies and equipment into the West, and rumors spread that they were planning to erect forts on the headwaters of the Ohio that year. By fall it was confirmed that three forts had been erected: Fort Presque Isle on the south shore of Lake Erie, Fort LeBoeuf on the Venango River, and Fort Venango where the Venango joins the Allegheny River. That winter Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington, then twenty-one years of age, with Christopher Gist to warn the French to withdraw, but the messengers received no satisfaction from Legardeau de St. Pierre, the French commander, at Fort LeBoeuf. Smarting under the French rebuff, Virginia speedily sent out a party to erect a fort at the Forks of the Ohio, but in February they were surprised by the French and surrendered without firing a shot. The fort then was finished by the French and named Duquesne after the Governor of Canada.

The failure of Pennsylvania, therefore, to take measures for securing the West against French encroachment lies principally at the door of the Quaker Assembly.¹⁸ In that body it was Israel Pemberton more than any other man who refused to make any concession and held the House firm in its opposition to defense. Ironically enough, the Quakers believed they could still retain the loyalty of the Indians with the French in their midst.

While a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, Israel Pemberton convinced his colleagues that it was to the interest of the Province to have all treaties made with Indians solemnized within the borders of Pennsylvania, and preferably in Philadelphia, where the Assembly could keep close watch on the Governor during negotiations.¹⁹ As for the perennial Indian expenses, he was foremost in censuring the Proprietors for their small contributions. It had been

¹⁷ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, V, 157.

¹⁸ Governor Hamilton notified the Board of Trade that the French were threatening the Ohio Valley in 1751. See Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, V, 157.

¹⁹ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, V, 157.

understood between William Penn and the original settlers, Israel persistently maintained, that the cost of Pennsylvania's pacific Indian policy would be paid from the quitrents and that Thomas Penn's refusal to do so constituted bad faith on the part of the Proprietors. Pemberton had no evidence to support his claim although the argument was nothing new, having been used by the Assembly as far back as 1701 in what seemed to be an effort to abolish the quitrents.²⁰

Governor Hamilton sought to convince Pemberton and Franklin that the Assembly's demand was unfair inasmuch as the Proprietors had given liberally to the public service; but, as Hamilton told Penn, "nothing was capable of satisfying Mr. Pemberton but the Assembly making a representation to yourself."²¹ At this time Israel was no longer a member of the House. Nevertheless, related Peters, "he prys into and has a great share in the conduct of all matters being much more hearkened to than he ought to be. The representation wch justly gives you [Thomas Penn] offence breathes his very spirit & was penned principally by him. . . ." ²² In attributing the motive behind the Quaker demand, Hamilton stated:

The politicks of these people are so low & dirty . . . they cannot even do an act of the strictest justice, without intermixing some sinister views of their own, and to that end, the paragraph relating to you [the Proprietors] was thrust in, in order to preserve their popularity, by shewing the people how careful they were of their interests, and by insinuating something against the Proprietors or Governor, which is allways sure to be well received by them.²³

But Israel Pemberton was seeking more than simply political capital. If the Proprietors could be persuaded to give up all or part of their quitrents for Indian expenses, Pennsylvania's pacific Indian policy would be greatly strengthened. The people, whose taxes would be lowered, would applaud; the Indians would be well cared for; and the Proprietary would ostensibly become supporters of the pacific policy to the lessening of the prestige of the advocates of military defenses.

²⁰ B. W. Bond, *The Quitrent System in the American Colonies*, 138. The Maryland legislature took the cue from Pennsylvania and for years insisted that the Proprietors were obliged to bear all Indian expenses. See Peters' Letter Book, July 27, 1748.

²¹ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, V, 157.

²² *Ibid.*, V, 199.

²³ *Ibid.*, V, 157.

Notwithstanding the rising costs, the Assembly continued to make liberal yearly Indian appropriations. Between 1748 and 1751 more than £5,000 were voted for this purpose.²⁴ "To do the Assembly justice," wrote Richard Peters in 1748, "they have behaved well in Indian affairs. . . ." ²⁵ Critics of the Quakers have often suggested that their liberality arose from the fact that they were compelled to treat the Indians with indulgence inasmuch as their pacific principles precluded the use of force in dealing with them. There undoubtedly is an element of truth in the statement, for certainly the Quakers could not afford to bring upon themselves attacks which their religion forbade them to repel by force. To insinuate, however, that the Quaker Indian policy was pusillanimous, while that of other American colonies exhibited fortitude, is unfair as well as untrue. If the Quaker policy brought peace only through the payment of tribute, then all the colonies as well as the British government must be included in the criticism. Sir William Johnson, the Indian agent, in the name of the Crown gave periodically to the Six Nations large presents for the purpose of maintaining favor for the English among them. Before the French and Indian War, Pennsylvania Quakers were lulled into believing that, because Pennsylvania had had no Indian wars, it would never have cause to fear them; consequently presents assumed less the character of tribute than a customary token of friendship and the fulfillment of an obligation to a people who, incidentally, formed a barrier and protection against the French. Few people in Pennsylvania found fault with the pacific policies of the Quaker Assembly: taxes were consequently low, men were not taken from their work for military duty, and the Indians seemed friendly and satisfied. Quaker rule might have continued its peaceful course indefinitely were it not for a number of disturbing factors: the constant threat of Pennsylvania's being engulfed in a great imperial war with its concomitant difficulties for a commonwealth dedicated to pacifism; the growing power of the aggressive and bellicose Scots-Irish Presbyterians; the failure of Proprietary executives to sympathize with the desires of a majority of the people, and the suspicions of a critical Crown government and Parliament.

For a generation or more prior to 1750, Pennsylvania had culti-

²⁴ Peters' Letter Book, July 27, 1748; February 1, 1749.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

vated the friendship of the powerful Iroquois Confederacy or Six Nations, as the English usually spoke of them.²⁶ The Six Nations occupied the strategic area south of Lake Ontario from the English settlements on the Mohawk River to the shores of Lake Erie and to the south along the headwaters of the Delaware, Susquehanna and Allegheny rivers. The Mohawk tribe in the east was particularly loyal to the English, and the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, who lived in the region of Lake Oneida and the Oswego River, usually could be depended upon. The Onondagas, who occupied the country south of Lake Oneida, were less predictable but generally preferred to favor the English, and the Cayugas, in the region of the lake which bears their name, ordinarily followed their Onondaga neighbors. The largest and most warlike were the Senecas, whose chief towns were in the Genesee Valley, while others lay scattered along the Chemung and Allegheny rivers and on the shores of Lake Erie or adjacent areas. Unfortunately for the English interest, the French had been among the Senecas for two or three generations and, since 1727, had had a fort at Niagara; consequently, of all the Six Nations, the Senecas gave the English the greatest cause for concern whenever France and England were at war.

The powerful Six Nations not only were a factor of primary importance in themselves, but also were intimately concerned whenever English interests touched the numerous Algonquin tribes scattered from the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania to the distant and little known stretches of the Illinois country. These Indians (the Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, and related tribes) had been beaten into submission by the Iroquois or cowed into acknowledging them to be their conquerors and masters. The vanquished Indians were suffered to occupy this vast wilderness by their conquerors, who assumed all rights to the land and endeavored to keep the beaten Indians entirely subservient to their wishes. The Delawares, who by 1750 lived chiefly in the Wyoming Valley and the Allegheny country beyond the mountains, were compelled by their proud conquerors to abandon war and wear a skirt or apron, symbolic of their inferiority and degradation.²⁷ Furthermore, the Six Nations

²⁶ H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, IV, 383.

²⁷ The Delawares insisted that they had not been conquered but had voluntarily accepted the office of peacemakers (a service rendered by women) at the suggestion of the Six Nations. See T. F. Gordon, *A History of Pennsylvania from Its Discovery by Europeans to 1776*, 47-49.

insisted that their Indian wards could hold treaties with the English or French only under their supervision and that under no condition could land be sold by them. The Six Nations, therefore, claimed exclusive rights to all of Pennsylvania west of the settlements as well as much of the Ohio Valley, no part of which could be alienated but by the Six Nations in council at Onondaga. To watch over the interests of the Iroquois in the Wyoming and Ohio valleys, the Onondaga council chose agents from the Confederacy known for their wisdom and prudence to reside among the vassal Indians.

The English-Six Nation friendship suffered no appreciable setback from King George's War. Relationships had been strained upon several occasions during the war, but the Confederacy remained intact, the great majority of the Iroquois remained neutral, while the Mohawks actively assisted the English as usual. About 1750, however, the English suffered a disturbing loss of prestige among the Iroquois. Many of the chiefs who had supported the English had died, and a new set, headed by a Roman Catholic, quite openly was attempting to swing the whole Confederacy over to the French. Jesuits, called by the Indians "Black Robes," with their headquarters at Fort Niagara, had for years sown the seeds of disaffection among the Iroquois, and now at a crucial hour the French believed their efforts were about to be crowned with success. The Mohawks, fathered by William Johnson,²⁸ generally remained steadfast in their loyalty to the English, and the Oneidas and Tuscaroras likewise were less influenced by French propaganda. Although no tribe was immune to it, the disaffection deepened and increased as one progressed west to its source in the Seneca country.²⁹

The unsettled conditions among the Six Nations made it questionable that Pennsylvania could continue to safeguard its Indian relations by way of the customary Onondaga clearinghouse. For the past twenty years or more, business pertaining to the native Delaware Indians had been transacted with the Six Nations, Pennsylvania holding that the safest and most statesmanlike policy was to cultivate the good will of the Confederacy and let them direct the affairs of their vassal tribes. This procedure, besides apparently safe-

²⁸ Johnson was not knighted until 1756.

²⁹ Weiser Correspondence, I, 28; Pemberton Papers, VI, 119.

guarding the interest and peace of Pennsylvania, had given a certain directness and clarity to Indian relations, which otherwise could not have been achieved. But now Pennsylvanians were quite at a loss to know what course to pursue, and Richard Peters, who flattered himself with having an unusual capacity for Indian affairs, suggested that Pennsylvania might find it expedient to abandon the old policy and take up with the Ohio Indians.³⁰ Such a course, however, as Peters was soon to discover, was fraught with many obstacles.

The Seneca Indians, time-honored keepers of the western door for the Confederacy, were the special guardians of the Ohio hunting grounds. For some time Senecas had been moving to the Allegheny where the hunting was better, and, to anyone acquainted with the facts, it should have been plain that an Ohio policy which did not take them into consideration was impractical. That the French were making great gains with the Senecas was not without English provocation. The Pennsylvania fur traders operating in the Ohio had deprived the Senecas of their position as middlemen when the trade was chiefly with Canada or New York. No doubt some of the Senecas moved to the Ohio in an effort to recapture some of their lost business. In any event, they looked upon Pennsylvanians as rivals, and, in 1747, when a delegation of Iroquois from the Ohio visited Philadelphia, it was with great difficulty that James Logan and Richard Peters induced them to take up the hatchet for the English. Only lavish gifts and a cordial reception, it was said, had prevented their going over to the French at this time.³¹

The development of French ascendancy among the Indians was accelerated when it became known that the Ohio Company had been granted an immense tract of land in the Ohio Valley. The Senecas denied that the Six Nations had released this land to Virginia at Lancaster in 1744 and declared that if the Virginians had a document to prove it, the paper was forged. The Six Nations, and the Senecas in particular, long had entertained a genuine dislike for Virginians, a dislike which they made no attempt to conceal.

³⁰ J. P. Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties*, lxiii.

³¹ C. P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania from the English Revolution to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, II, 908-909.

More than once Iroquois war parties on their way against the Cherokees or Catawbias had had encounters with the haughty Virginians, and it had been with difficulty that New York and Pennsylvania had persuaded the Six Nations from taking up the hatchet against them. Now to the disgust of the Senecas, the Virginian Ohio Company not only claimed it had secured a title for the Ohio lands from the Six Nations, but also had the effrontery to treat with their vassals, the Delawares and Shawnees, for a confirmation of the reputed sale.³² It is not surprising, therefore, that the Senecas seemed not at all disturbed when the French struck an important pro-English Indian village on a tributary of the Ohio in 1752, and made no resistance when they fortified the Venango the next year. It remained to be seen whether the Six Nations or part of them would openly espouse the French cause in the next war, but it was clear that the Senecas and many others would be only too happy to play the French against the English in the hope of weakening both and thus relieving a condition which yearly became more ominous for the Indian way of life.

When the Indians friendly to the English heard that the French were on their way to fortify the Ohio and incidentally to chastise all who had shown a preference for the English, they sent appeals to Pennsylvania and Virginia for help.³³ Both governments responded by appropriating funds for arming the Delawares and Shawnees, who, now thoroughly frightened, desired the English to fortify their country.³⁴ The French, however, warned that the Ohio Indians had at last invited the Virginians to erect a fort, hastened their preparations, and anticipated the English in fortifying the Valley.³⁵

At this time the Six Nation superintendent or "Half King" among the Ohio Indians was the Oneida chief, Tanacharism. Tanacharism was aided by Scarroyady, likewise an Oneida, who succeeded him on his death in 1754. Both men were faithful beyond a doubt to their lifelong friends, the English.³⁶ Their difficulties in the Ohio

³² Peters MSS, III, 75.

³³ J. S. Walton, *Conrad Weiser*, 270.

³⁴ Norris' Letter Book, 1719-1756, 68; Weiser Correspondence, I, 38; Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VI, 113.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ See C. H. Sipe, *Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, 133.

had grown with the spreading disillusionment among the Senecas regarding the English and with the growing confusion among the Ohio Indians. It was largely through the efforts of these men that many of the Ohio Indians manifested a willingness to make a stand against the French. Scarroyady fully realized that only fear of the French caused them to draw closer to the English and that if the English did not act swiftly and vigorously all Indian support in the West might be lost. In the summer of 1753 representatives of the Ohio Indians headed by Scarroyady met leaders of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to consider measures of defense. Although the Indians seemed generally satisfied with the presents and promises received, they protested against the settling of the Monongahela Valley by the Ohio Company.³⁷ All thoughtful Indians were perturbed over the ever increasing English invasion of their hunting grounds: in this the Senecas simply were more decisive and direct in dealing with the menace.

The year 1754 was a troubled one for the English. The French were in possession of the Ohio and the loyalty of all but a few Indians had become questionable. The colonies had failed to send a force against the invaders, and the Indians, lulled by gifts and promises from the French, offered no resistance. Those who had been close to Indian affairs for years were quite at a loss to know what to do to strengthen the hand of the English. Richard Peters declared that the treaty of Carlisle was a disgrace to the English, inasmuch as the traders kept the Indians constantly drunk and seriously interfered with vital business.³⁸ James Hamilton was disgusted with the whole Indian problem; the Ohio Indians and traders alike, he declared, were "so drunken a crew" it was impossible to depend upon anything they said.³⁹ Conrad Weiser, who undoubtedly understood the Indians better than any other Pennsylvanian, discouragingly admitted: "everything lies in such confusion, that I am quite perplexed in my mind, and do not know how to act in Indian affairs any more, they are apostates as to their old natural principle

³⁷ Weiser Correspondence, I, 38; H. Jenkins, *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal*, I, 420. The Pennsylvania Assembly voted £800 for condolences for the Indians. With this the Governor bought arms and ammunition which the Indians received at Carlisle. See Sipe, *op. cit.*, 142-143.

³⁸ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VI, 133.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 139.

of honesty, and become drunkards, rogues, thieves, and liars.”⁴⁰

That Scarroyady's influence and counsel were insufficient to hold the restless natives in check was apparent when some of them offered to sell the western country to Pennsylvania, inasmuch as they no longer could hold it against the French.⁴¹ Regardless of the Six Nations' loss of esteem in Pennsylvania, no Proprietary agent was so rash as to believe he could risk bargaining with these Indians. To do so would surely cause serious repercussions among the Six Nations. However, Peters, who was convinced that it was time to sound the latter regarding a release of the land in question, wrote Thomas Penn that Weiser should be sent to the Six Nations to put out feelers for a sale.⁴²

In the face of the confusion and disaffection among the Indians south of the Great Lakes, the British Board of Trade set in motion an intercolonial meeting between the English and Indians at Albany, New York.⁴³ The Congress convened in June when delegates from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland met the chiefs of the Six Nations. Pennsylvania was represented by John Penn and Richard Peters for the Proprietors and Benjamin Franklin and Isaac Norris for the Assembly. The central figure among the English was William Johnson, the adopted son of the Mohawks. The Indians, even the Mohawks, were not at all hesitant in voicing grievances, and it was with difficulty and not without lavish presents and promises that they were mollified to the point of reassuring the English of their continued friendship. Since the time of King George's War, the Board of Trade had fixed its attention upon the Cherokees and other southern tribes, who, it was feared, were in danger of being won over by the French and Spanish. In 1751 alone, the Crown gave over £7,000 to these Indians in presents while South Carolina added about £1,500. For the same reason the Board of Trade had discouraged western expansion in the South. The Iroquois, therefore, had good reason for the charge that they had been neglected by the English.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Weiser Correspondence, I, 44.

⁴¹ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VI, 133.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ C. P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization*, 586. The Board of Trade instructed the Governor of New York to call the conference in 1753. O. M. Dickerson, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*, 217.

⁴⁴ Dickerson, *op. cit.*, 279; Osgood, *op. cit.*, IV, 401.

While the Convention was engaged in assuring the Indians that settlements would stop at the Allegheny Mountains (Virginia was not represented), Richard Peters and John Penn coaxed the Iroquois into selling western Pennsylvania for two thousand pieces of eight. Colonial welfare and peace thus were subordinated to private interests, and the most was made of an opportunity to obtain an Indian deed to a vast region beyond the mountains.⁴⁵

When the sale became generally known throughout the Iroquois Confederacy, ominous reverberations came to the ears of the English. The Senecas were bitter and charged that the sale was illegal and not binding inasmuch as it had not been solemnized at Onondaga, the only place where Six Nation official business could be transacted. The action of the Pennsylvania agents served to confirm what many Iroquois long had suspected: that the French and English alike "were only contesting which of them should have their lands."⁴⁶

Not long after the Albany Purchase, Thomas Penn was informed by Richard Peters that certain Ohio Indians had registered protests against the sale, although he saw fit to ignore the disturbance the purchase had caused among the Iroquois. Notwithstanding the Delawares and Shawnees had no claim to the land they inhabited, their protest had an ominous ring: it was clearly no time to use high-handed measures with any of the natives. But Thomas Penn either did not understand the explosive character of Indian relations or did not wish to allow it to interfere with his personal interests.⁴⁷ The Ohio Indians, he decided, would be disposed of as in 1742 when the Iroquois, at the request of the Proprietary agents, ordered the Minisinks under the threat of the tomahawk from their homes on the Delaware River. Writing to Richard Peters, Thomas Penn declared he would listen to no protest from the Ohio Indians. If they continue to complain, "You will refer them to the Six Nations, & if they are any way troublesome, complain to the Six Nations of them, who will make them quiet as they formerly did the Delawares. . . ." ⁴⁸ It was because of such apparent disregard for the public welfare by the Proprietors and their agents in Pennsylvania

⁴⁵ Gordon, *op. cit.*, 331-337; Jenkins, *op. cit.*, I, 445.

⁴⁶ Norris' Letter Book, 1719-1756, 68.

⁴⁷ Peters MSS, IV, 4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

that the Quakers were able to place the Proprietary relations with the Indians in disrepute and to prepare the way for more serious charges against them.

While Pennsylvania was racked by perplexing problems of defense, Indian relations, and land, it was by no means free from the old problems of paper money and taxation. The paper money dispute remained no nearer solution than earlier in Hamilton's governorship. Hamilton was broadminded enough toward the problem, but his hands were tied effectively by Proprietary instructions which he wisely kept secret from the Assembly while assuming to act according to his private judgment in the matter. He therefore told the Assembly that he believed the royal instruction of 1741 bound him to require restrictions on the issuance of paper money, but the wily Assembly saw through the Governor's stratagem and, as Hamilton stated it, propagated the doctrine that

a governor here cannot be laid under instructions, either from the Crown or from the Proprietor for that, the King having delegated his powers to you [Proprietors], by the Charter, has nothing further to do with us, and that the Proprietors having delegated theirs by a commission to their Governor are not thereafter, capable of restricting him, in any point of government whatever.⁴⁹

The Assembly defended its criticism of the policy of binding the governors with set instructions by insisting that representative government was useless if no laws could be passed but those authorized by a Proprietor three thousand miles away.⁵⁰

Although Governor Hamilton faithfully carried out his instructions from the Proprietors, he did not hesitate to voice his criticism to the Penns. He thought Thomas Penn's obstinacy toward the paper money question very unwise and sought to convince him that a less unyielding policy would be better for all concerned. At this time he warned Penn: "I think there is little probability of my ever doing any further business with these people in the legislative way, as they seem determined to proceed upon no other, until they have their beloved paper money. . . ." ⁵¹ For political reasons, if nothing more, William Allen, the Chief Justice, and Tench Francis,

⁴⁹ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VI, 99.

⁵⁰ *Votes of the Assembly*, IV, 362.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, V, 227; VI, 99.

the Attorney General, thought that the Governor should be allowed to sign the paper money bills.⁵² The British government, if it saw fit, could then annul the acts, and the wrath of the people would be turned from the Proprietors to the Crown.

Interestingly enough, Israel Pemberton did not share the prevailing opinion that Pennsylvania was exempt from the royal instructions regarding paper money. He thought Isaac Norris, the Speaker of the Assembly, lacked proper judgment and foresight and was as much to blame as the Proprietors for Pennsylvania's inadequate currency supply. When the money bill was vetoed in 1753 by the Governor, Israel was not greatly concerned, since he felt that the bill should have been for double the amount and should have contained the suspending clause demanded by the Governor and Proprietors.⁵³ The Governor could then sign the bill and, if the act seemed likely to be annulled by the Crown, Pennsylvania could plead her case where it would do the most good. If successful, the volume of paper money would be ample for the needs of a generation or more.⁵⁴

Shortly before the actual outbreak of war, the Quaker party petitioned the British government to intercede with the Proprietors in behalf of Pennsylvania's currency. James Pemberton, who was then a member of the Assembly but did not share his brother's opinion regarding the suspending clause, presented the case for paper money to Hinton Brown, a prominent London Quaker banker.⁵⁵ The amount of bills had remained but £80,000 for the past sixteen years, he pointed out, although the currency needs yearly had increased until it had become woefully inadequate. Pennsylvania's currency system, he went on to show, was as sound as it was intricate. The bills of credit were funded by a liquor tax, which was of a kind thought to be least burdensome to the people. When the bills were struck off, they were paid out on securities in farm mortgages, the interest on the latter providing a fund for Indian expenditures. The whole business was handled by a Loan Office and

⁵² Peters MSS, III, 68.

⁵³ The suspending clause in question would suspend the carrying out of the law until the Crown approved the act.

⁵⁴ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VI, 103. Pemberton had a large following on the paper money question. A suspending clause, he thought, would not be particularly injurious to the stability of the Provincial currency.

⁵⁵ Pemberton Papers, X, 75.

had operated so well as to form a valuable adjunct to the economic development of Pennsylvania. Thousands of thrifty farmers had been benefited by the service, but of late the paucity of funds in the Loan Office had curtailed agricultural expansion, while the resulting contraction of the currency in circulation had had a depressing effect upon Pennsylvania's business in general. Pennsylvania's customary unfavorable balance of trade with England drained off hard money as fast as it entered the Province. Paper money, therefore, he concluded, was an absolute necessity if Pennsylvania was to prosper and develop in the manner predestined by its natural wealth and resources.⁵⁶ But against all this the Proprietors remained inflexible and refused to modify their instructions on paper money.

When James Hamilton resigned the governorship in disgust in 1754, Thomas Penn exhibited his small regard for the feelings of Pennsylvanians by appointing Robert H. Morris of New Jersey as his deputy. Richard Hockley plainly told Thomas Penn what the people thought of the appointment. "No person can come under greater disadvantage as the people in general are prejudiced against him . . .," he wrote. "Some call him a tyrant, others say you might as well have sent the devil and have in this instance, shew'd your great regard for the Province, . . ." ⁵⁷ When a report was circulated in Philadelphia that Morris had informed the Board of Trade and the Privy Council that he would refuse to sign any Assembly bills unless all public expenditures were placed in his hands, the wrath of the people knew no bounds.⁵⁸ Plainly, Governor Morris had made a thorny bed for himself in Pennsylvania. But, blind to reason, he gave no thought to soothing the people and upon assuming office proceeded to govern in a highhanded manner, scornful of the bitterness wrought by his acts. Benjamin Franklin declared that Morris was the "rashest and most indiscreet Governor," he had ever known and would harm the Proprietors as much as the Province. "We are all in Flames," Franklin confessed in August 1755.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Maryland had a controlled paper currency similar to the Pennsylvania system. Its paper money history, however, was not one of bitter dispute with Proprietors for the Calverts of Maryland were notably less set in their ways. See N. D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, 126-127; Bond, *op. cit.*, 192.

⁵⁷ Correspondence of the Penn Family, 1732-1767, 3 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Franklin Works*, III, 276.

In 1754, war with the French being imminent, the Proprietary party endeavored to consolidate all anti-Quaker interests into an opposition strong enough to gain control of the Assembly. Presbyterian ministers preached anti-Quaker sermons to their Scots-Irish congregations, and a drive was made to detach the Germans from their traditional support of the Quaker party. The program, however, was largely unsuccessful among the Germans, who held the balance of power in most of the counties. In Philadelphia county they turned out eighteen hundred strong on election day and carried the Quakers to a sweeping victory.⁶⁰ Even among the Presbyterians, the success of the anti-Quaker campaign was far below expectations, for the Presbyterians were divided between "New Lights" and "Old Lights," many of whom preferred to vote for a Quaker rather than for a member of the rival group; consequently, the Proprietary party lost even in strong Presbyterian communities.⁶¹

Failure to turn many of the Germans from their support of the Quakers was discouraging to the Proprietary men. For a number of years certain Philadelphia gentlemen, most of whom were Episcopalian and Proprietary partisans, had busied themselves in an endeavor to establish English schools among the Germans.⁶² Ostensibly the object was to Anglicize the Germans and make them better citizens. There had been much conjecture about the loyalty of the Germans, some of whom, it was believed, were pro-French and Catholic at heart.⁶³ But it was apparent before long that certain trustees of the German schools were contriving to use them to cultivate among the Germans a preference for Proprietary politics. When the Germans failed to show appreciation for what was being done for them, by voting for Proprietary politicians, Thomas Penn re-

⁶⁰ A. D. Graeff, *The Relations between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities (1750-1776)*, 56.

⁶¹ Norris' Letter Book, 1719-1756, 70. The "New Light" Presbyterians followed George Whitefield and accepted evangelism.

⁶² Graeff, *op. cit.*, 54-55. Franklin supported the schools among the Germans although he deprecated the fact that some tried to use them for political purposes.

⁶³ O. Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*, 142-147; K. F. Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 38; G. A. Cribbs, *The Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania*, 40. At this time the Catholics of Maryland likewise were accused of sympathizing with the French, causing considerable clamor to exclude them from all offices of trust. Mereness, *op. cit.*, 327-328.

mind his adherents in Pennsylvania that one could not expect to change the Germans over night—that such a change might be realized by “very prudent, soft and cautious measures . . . which may be effected in time by the management of the Trustees for the Schools, . . .”⁶⁴

Returning to the western problem, the Pennsylvania Assembly found itself no more willing than before to permit the Province to undertake military operations against the French. The same excuses were offered after the French fortified the Ohio as when Israel Pemberton was a member of the Assembly. The latter body did, however, consider making an appropriation for Virginia, but for political and religious reasons (and perhaps because of jealousy, parsimony, and indifference as well) the measure failed to pass. The Assembly excused itself by saying that it did not wish to strengthen the hand of the Governor by placing the money in his care, lest he should use the funds to embroil the Province in war.⁶⁵

Again the Quakers were charged that their pacifism was little more than an excuse to avoid the exactions of defense and taxation. The charge is strengthened by the fact that colonial legislatures in general were no more ready than Pennsylvania to grant military appropriations. When the French invaded the Ohio in 1753, the Maryland legislature saw no necessity “for imposing a tax upon the people.” The French occupation, the Maryland Assembly declared, was not an invasion of the Province nor any other British American colony.⁶⁶ When Governor Dinwiddie, an Ohio Company stockholder, sent letters to the legislatures of other provinces soliciting aid against the French, a sarcastic reply from South Carolina reminded him that of Virginia’s thirty-thousand militia only two hundred had been called into service. The Ohio, therefore, could be of “no great concern” to Virginia, the letter concluded.⁶⁷ In Virginia itself the Ohio Company was experiencing the greatest difficulty in attempting to convince the Province and its House of Burgesses that the Company’s claim to the Ohio should be boldly asserted. The aristocratic clique which composed the Ohio Com-

⁶⁴ Peters MSS, IV, 4.

⁶⁵ Norris’ Letter Book, 1719–1756, 51.

⁶⁶ Mereness, *op. cit.*, 318–319.

⁶⁷ Carolina’s Assembly’s Committee report to Governor Dinwiddie, 1754, Peters MSS, III, 121.

pany found itself balked by a strong party which could see no reason why the blood and treasure of the Province should be expended in the interest of a few speculators. The opposition led the attack upon the Company by accusing it of having provoked the French to fortify the Ohio.⁶⁸ The question of how much of Pennsylvania's opposition to defense arose from conscientious objections, therefore, is perplexing. Naturally, worldly motives were not altogether absent from Quaker policies, yet the evidence is convincing that they were, notwithstanding, sincere in their religious and pacific professions.

It was about the time when Robert H. Morris assumed the governorship, that Britain tardily decided to take action against the French in the Ohio. Soon troops under General Edward Braddock were dispatched to America. Pennsylvania was instructed by the British government to furnish provisions and transportation for the projected campaign against the French. The Assembly responded with a bill for a liberal grant of £20,000 in bills of credit, but Governor Morris would not have it without a suspending clause, and a deadlock ensued.⁶⁹ Finally, the Assembly appropriated £5,000 to the King's use from funds at its disposal, providing for its expenditure by commissioners of its own choosing, and adjourned for four months.⁷⁰ Both parties, it was plain, were using the emergency as a lever to force concessions from each other.

The commissioners appointed by the Assembly to carry out the instructions of the British government were all members of the Quaker party and headed by Franklin, esteemed by most Quakers, if not altogether trusted by them.⁷¹ James Pemberton was one of the commissioners especially assigned to purchase wheat and superintend its conversion into army flour. Coördination among the purchasing agents was very poor, and James Pemberton soon found that the agents, operating separately, had overpurchased to the extent of 4,234 bushels.⁷² Due to legislative inefficiency and procrasti-

⁶⁸ Norris' Letter Book, 1719-1756, 53.

⁶⁹ W. T. Root, *The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696-1765*, 200-201.

⁷⁰ Pemberton Papers, X, 69.

⁷¹ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 2 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Israel Pemberton said that Franklin engineered the whole plan to supply Braddock, not only to fulfill Pennsylvania's obligation to the Crown, but to frustrate the Governor in his design to cast reproach upon the Province for not agreeing to his terms for the bill to raise £20,000 for imperial aid.

⁷² Pemberton Papers, X, 111.

nation, work on the projected road from Carlisle to Cumberland for conveying the provisions to Braddock was delayed until May. Sir John St. Clair, Braddock's commissary general, was so enraged at Pennsylvania's apparent indifference to the needs of the army that he threatened to march troops into Pennsylvania to impress both men and teams. He accused the Assembly of insincerity and actions amounting to sabotage in a design to do as little as it dared to aid the expedition. The accusation was groundless, the delay being due mainly to inefficiency and ineptitude. Governor Morris in April urged the Assembly to get men working on the road and, finally, after another month elapsed, two hundred men were set to work.⁷³ The road was not finished until June, when Braddock received his tardy provisions.⁷⁴

Benjamin Franklin's intercession with Braddock and St. Clair doubtlessly forestalled any extreme action on their part against Pennsylvania.⁷⁵ The minds of the army heads had been poisoned against the Quaker Commonwealth by Virginians and Marylanders to such an extent that they classed Pennsylvania and the French as equal enemies of the Empire, St. Clair declaring he would as soon use his army on one as the other.⁷⁶ The difficult problem of inducing the Pennsylvania farmers to transport provisions with their teams and wagons was handled skillfully by Franklin, who earned for Pennsylvania the compliments of General Braddock.⁷⁷ The latter was convinced, by June, that he had been duped by the Virginians, whose lavish pledges lay in default while the much-condemned Pennsylvania fulfilled its promises.⁷⁸

During the winter of 1754-1755, the Pennsylvania government had supported a party of reputedly loyal Indians at George Croghan's fort at Aughwick, in the region west of Harris' Ferry.⁷⁹ These

⁷³ *Ibid.*, X, 114; Peters MSS, IV, 16.

⁷⁴ Peters MSS, IV, 16.

⁷⁵ Pemberton Papers, X, 117; Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 2.

⁷⁶ Etting Collection, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁷ Franklin incurred claims against him to the amount of £20,000 in procuring wagons and teams. After much delay he finally was paid by order of Governor Shirley, who succeeded Braddock in command. Lord Loudoun would never believe that Franklin had not made a fortune out of the transaction although the latter declared he was not the richer by a farthing. See Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, 232, 263; Gordon, *op. cit.*, 293.

⁷⁸ Norris' Letter Book, 1719-1756, 78.

⁷⁹ Harris' Ferry, the old name for Harrisburg.

Indians, headed by Scarroyady, were induced to join Braddock's force in the spring. The Indians, however, were soon made sullen by the treatment of the British officers, and after their squaws were sent home at the suggestion of Richard Peters, all but seven deserted. Scarroyady, though angered by the slights of the British, stayed on and, with the half-dozen other Indians, gave good service in scouting.⁸⁰

While Braddock was marching his men to death and defeat, William Johnson, who had recently been appointed superintendent for the Six Nations, was holding a great conference with the Iroquois at his home in the Mohawk Valley.⁸¹ Johnson soon discovered that except among the Mohawks his influence over the Six Nations was nearing the vanishing point; all he could get from the disgruntled and suspicious Indians was a reluctant and uncertain promise of neutrality.⁸² At this conference the Six Nations made a formal protest to Johnson against the Pennsylvania Proprietary purchase of their Allegheny hunting grounds the summer before at Albany. The title obtained by Peters and Penn, they declared, did not constitute a valid release, and they desired a renunciation of it by the Proprietors.⁸³ Although Johnson had acquiesced to the sale at the time, he understood full well that to disregard the protest would be to court serious trouble for the English, and in his letters to the Board of Trade he recommended that the Proprietors should be made to renounce their title.

The defeat of Braddock's fine army by half its number of Indians led by a small party of Frenchmen was a humiliating and disastrous blow to the English. The frontier of every colony immediately became a likely field of plunder by Indians from far and near, who now held the unhappy English in the greatest contempt.⁸⁴ Braddock's defeat marked the end of an epoch in Pennsylvania history. Old problems were to be intensified many fold, while new and

⁸⁰ Jenkins, *op. cit.*, II, 436. Scarroyady's son accidentally was shot and killed by a British soldier who mistook the boy for a skulking French Indian.

⁸¹ Johnson received his commission from the Crown in 1756. See Dickerson, *op. cit.*, 340. In December 1754 George Croghan thought the Onondagas lost to the English. See Croghan to Gov. Morris, Dec. 23, 1754, Pennsylvania Miscellaneous MSS, 1660-1775 (Library of Congress).

⁸² *Johnson Papers*, IX, 203.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, IX, 200.

⁸⁴ See W. Sargent, *History of the Braddock Expedition*.

equally perplexing ones would be added by the exigencies of war. The character of Pennsylvania politics and Indian relations in particular were to undergo momentous changes. Had Braddock won the battle and taken Fort Duquesne, the subsequent history of Pennsylvania would have been much different.

After Braddock's defeat at the hands of the French and Indians in July 1755, the Proprietary leaders were confident of gaining control of the Pennsylvania Assembly. The Ohio Indians had gone over now to the French en masse, and although they refrained from attacking the Pennsylvania frontier, they engaged in demonstrating their hatred for Virginia by subjecting its frontier to all the horrors of Indian warfare. Now, the anti-Quaker men thought, the Germans will listen to reason and place men in office who will put the frontier in a state of defense before it is too late. But to their astonishment and dismay, the Quakers were returned to power by the October election, losing but a few seats to their rivals.⁸⁵ The Germans refused to take alarm at the fate of Virginia; rather, they continued in their trust that the Indians would not attack their traditional friends, whose peaceful intentions were patent by their lack of the most rudimentary defenses.

A certain number of Friends, among them James Pemberton, perceiving the difficulty confronting strict Quakers as members of the Provincial Assembly with the Empire at war, accepted their offices with reluctance and not a few misgivings.⁸⁶ Israel Pemberton, on behalf of the Quarterly Meeting confided in the London Meeting for Sufferings that Friends would gladly resign their places in the Assembly if a sufficient number of non-Quakers could be trusted to preserve the privileges and liberties of the Province. But, Israel explained, it was the avowed intention of the minority to subvert the Charter and crush their liberties: this knowledge compelled them to continue in office not knowing who could be trusted with so great a responsibility.⁸⁷ Furthermore, as the election had demonstrated, the majority of people in Pennsylvania still placed their trust in the old leaders and for what they stood. But thoughtful Quakers must have realized that the supreme test for their pacific tradition in government was fast approaching.

⁸⁵ Pemberton Papers, XI, 9½.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Franklin Papers, XII, 35 (University of Pennsylvania).

For the past few years Israel Pemberton had watched the course of Pennsylvania's politics with deepening disapproval and no little alarm. His influence in politics at this time was apparently slight, and for the most part he devoted his energies to civic, religious, and charitable activities. Late in 1754, he left Philadelphia for Virginia to overtake Samuel Fothergill, the English preacher whom he accompanied to Charleston.⁸⁸ Fothergill's presence in America at this time is significant in that he was closely associated throughout with Israel Pemberton. Together they were responsible for the formation of the Quaker policy toward the problems raised by the French and Indian War.

Upon returning from the South, Israel Pemberton decided that he could no longer remain aloof from politics with a mind at ease. Believing that something might be done to lessen Pennsylvania's perplexities by direct appeal to the Proprietors, he solicited the aid of Dr. John Fothergill of London, who as the family physician for the Penn family enjoyed a high place in their esteem. Dr. Fothergill undertook to do what he could to help the Province and by October it appeared that some benefit might accrue from the intercession. Dr. Fothergill was soon able to inform Israel that Thomas Penn at his home in Spring Garden had shown him his instructions to the Governor of Pennsylvania, which Fothergill thought indicated the beginning of a change in policy.⁸⁹ But after several months of correspondence, Pemberton came to believe that little relief was likely to arise from the conversations, and as events unfolded in Pennsylvania he became convinced that he should again exert himself in public affairs in the interest of the peace of the Province.

Israel Pemberton attributed the alienation of the friendship of the Indians and the swiftly spreading war to no other cause than a woeful mismanagement of Indian affairs. Foremost he criticized the Proprietors whom he charged had neglected and misused the Indians. When Dr. Fothergill deprecated the lack of support Braddock was receiving from the Indians, Pemberton stated, in a letter written but two months before the defeat, that so long as the Proprietary agents persisted in using unchristian methods with the Indians, re-

⁸⁸ Pemberton Papers, V, 10, 80.

⁸⁹ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 4-6. Dr. John Fothergill was the brother of Samuel Fothergill. The family was Scottish.

lations would remain unsettled.⁹⁰ The prevailing sentiment toward Indians in all the colonies except Pennsylvania and South Carolina, Israel believed, favored their extermination as soon as possible. This inhuman design, he thought, was the more reprehensible in that many of the Indians had "great natural abilities," a clear sense of right from wrong, and were "faithful and steady" friends and allies when "treated with that Truth and friendship, which the principles of Christianity dictates, . . ." ⁹¹ If Quakers had the handling of Indian affairs, Pemberton reasoned, the natives would readily be won over to a whole-hearted support of Pennsylvania, and the frontiers would enjoy uninterrupted peace and security.⁹²

⁹⁰ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 2.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

QUAKERISM AND WAR

IN OCTOBER, the Indians, who following the defeat of General Braddock had launched furious raids along the entire Virginia frontier, struck with little warning the unguarded Pennsylvania frontier. The cunning Delawares and Shawnees of the Ohio waited until the remnant of Braddock's army under Colonel Dunbar had left Pennsylvania for New York before attacking the Province. From the time of the first raid on October 23, 1755, against the Penn's Creek settlement, the attacks increased in number and ferocity, so that before long the whole Pennsylvania frontier was drenched in blood and in a state of terror and confusion difficult to imagine. The psychological effect of Braddock's defeat gave the French a tremendous advantage at the opening of the contest. Those Indians in Pennsylvania, who did not go immediately over to the French, found their neutrality an extremely precarious one, surrounded as they were by people who considered all who were not with them to be against them. The French worked upon these hesitating Indians with bribes, propaganda, and threats. Head men received lavish gifts, and the most was made of Indian grievances against the English. The activities of the Ohio Company were used to incite the Indians against Virginia: the Proprietary purchase of western Pennsylvania was used to arouse them against the Quaker Province. Indians, still hesitating or declaring their wish to remain neutral, were threatened with destruction for harboring a secret friendship for the English. In November, Governor Morris stated: "It seems clear from the different accounts I have received that the French have gained to their interest the Delaware and Shawnee Indians under the ensnaring pretence of restoring them to their country."¹

The Quakers were stunned when the bloodcurdling reports of

¹ *Colonial Records*, VI, 670-672.

the Indian attacks on the frontier reached the eastern counties. They could not believe that their old friends, the Delawares, would perpetrate such deeds against Pennsylvania without reason or provocation.² The logical course, therefore, was to make a hasty investigation in the hope of finding the trouble and to restore peaceful relations with the Indians by eliminating the cause of friction. The Assembly began hearings on the question, and soon reports were circulated in Philadelphia that the Delawares were dissatisfied with land purchases, presumably the late Proprietary purchase of Western Pennsylvania from the Six Nations. Richard Peters now found it convenient to forget all about his report on the disaffection of the Ohio Indians (sent to Thomas Penn the previous year) and called the investigation ridiculous.³

The Governor's Council endeavored to whitewash the Proprietors by publishing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* the substance of an interview with Scarroyady and Andrew Montour, in which they testified that they had never heard the Ohio Indians complain against Pennsylvania. The defection, the Indians said, was due wholly to Braddock's defeat and the apparent weakness of the English.⁴ Scarroyady and Montour probably told the authorities what they plainly wished to hear for it seems very unlikely that the two Indians had never heard complaints against the Albany purchase.⁵ It was true, however, that very few Indians cared much for the English, and even before Braddock's defeat they had entertained a low opinion of the English soldier, regular or militia. Most of them realized, too, that in the long run the English were a greater

² When it was reported in 1745 that Indians were planning to attack Pennsylvania, the Quakers refused to believe it, and the Assembly appropriated but a small sum for employing Delaware scouts under the direction of Conrad Weiser. See C. P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania from the English Revolution to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, II, 878.

³ Peters MSS, IV, 16; Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 8.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 11, 1755. Sharpless in his *Political Leaders*, p. 191, states that the Delawares first threw off the Iroquois yoke, then joined the French and helped defeat Braddock. The records show, however, that they did not declare themselves free from Iroquois suzerainty until after Braddock's defeat and that very few Delawares joined the French before then. See Peters MSS, IV, 16.

⁵ Scarroyady and Montour, like most Indians, were easily swayed and fashioned their information in a way calculated to please the whites. It was Scarroyady who in January 1755, gave his pledge to see that the Connecticut purchase was nullified by the Six Nation Council and in March signed the deed for the sale. See J. P. Boyd, *Susquehanna Papers*, I, lxxxvii.

threat to their existence than the French. The Delawares and Shawnees were encouraged by the disgruntled and disaffected western Iroquois, many of whom joined in the attacks upon the English settlements.⁶ Isaac Norris received reports that several of the Iroquois tribes were at the bottom of the Delaware depredations and that "it takes its rise from a council held at Onondagua, to wch the Mohawks & Oneidas were not parties nor privy."⁷ The Indians, Norris explained, had even invited the Cherokees to coöperate in driving the English back across the Alleghenies and the French into Canada as well.⁸ Evidence of a belief among the Indians in the necessity for a common front against white encroachment appears too often to be ignored. The Quakers were right, therefore, in thinking that the Indians were alarmed by the English encroachment, but they failed to see that this was not necessarily due to irregular land purchases, but to a general apprehension overtaking the Indians.

To the discredit of both, Governor Morris and the Quaker Assembly used the Indian menace and the miserable plight of the frontier as a lever by which to gain political advantages. Morris hoped to undermine the power of the Quaker Assembly by charging that, because of pacifism, Pennsylvania was powerless to check the Indian ravages; while the Assembly, by holding the critical state of affairs over the Governor, endeavored to force him to capitulate and agree to legislative dictation. To forward his despicable scheme, Governor Morris courted disaster early in October by withholding important intelligence in the form of secret warnings that the Indians would soon strike the frontier. Even Richard Peters indignantly wrote: "We all blame the Governor very much for not laying before the Assembly all the Indian news . . . the lives of the people are not to be plaid with, nor thrown away because the two parts of the Legislature [government] differ. . . ."⁹

Although the Assembly was still held by Quakers, Franklin and others had won most of the men over to a support of measures for the defense of the Province. A minority of strict Quakers, however, refused to approve of any legislation violating the traditional

⁶ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 23-24.

⁷ Norris' Letter Book, 1719-1756, 94.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Weiser Correspondence, I, 57.

Quaker pacifism. They were headed by James Pemberton and comprised the members who were soon compelled to resign their places. The statement sometimes is found that the Pennsylvania Assembly of 1755-1756 was controlled by pacifists who had no intention of affording the frontier protection and used the Proprietary dispute to shield itself from the wrath of the people. To say this implies that Benjamin Franklin opposed defending the frontier, for by this time the majority in the Assembly gave Franklin their undivided support.

Benjamin Franklin understood the people of Pennsylvania probably better than any man of his time. He knew that the great body of Germans disliked military establishments quite as much as the Quakers. Many had left the Rhine in the earnest hope of leaving behind the miseries of war and famine and to find in Pennsylvania an asylum of peace and security. Furthermore, it was natural for the Germans to have an aversion to the wars of the English, inasmuch as they formed a group separated from the larger ambitions and interests of the English.¹⁰

Even those Pennsylvanians who had no objection to defense, Franklin knew to be, for the most part, opposed to rigid and arduous military laws. They desired short-time enlistments, a salary, the choice of their own officers, a military code made by the officers of their own selection, and other regulations calculated to afford a minimum of restraint and inconvenience. It was all another phase of the developing American democracy which Franklin seemed to understand so fully. Therefore, he favored a militia fashioned after the popular units raised by the Association in 1748, a plan, incidentally, which gave him much personal satisfaction in that it was displeasing to the Proprietors and their followers in Pennsylvania.

After the storm broke upon the frontier, both Morris and Frank-

¹⁰ Like the French Canadians after Canada became British, their interests were mainly within themselves and provincial. The French in Canada and Germans in Pennsylvania, so different in many respects, afford an interesting and significant comparison. Appeals to the patriotism of the French Canadian by the English invariably have been met by a provoking passiveness. Sir Wilfred Lauier during the First World War attributed the French Canadian lukewarmness toward the war to their provincialism, resulting from an enduring and distinct culture. The history of Pennsylvania in a similar way suggests that German provincialism arising from a foreign culture, more than the fact that many were pacifists, accounts for their passive behavior during early American wars and revolution.

lin acknowledged that the government must act swiftly to meet the emergency. Governor Morris delayed no longer in laying before the Assembly all his intelligence pertaining to the Indians and the frontier, together with a recommendation that measures be speedily adopted for checking the disaster.¹¹ It was then that the Assembly decided to hold an inquiry into the cause of the Indian attack which Peters termed nothing more than a scheme to pin the cause of the Indian war on the Proprietors.¹² Plainly if this could be done, it would be a great stroke of fortune for Franklin and the Assembly. Notwithstanding this, however, most of the Quakers, the minority of strict Friends, especially, were quite convinced that the Indians had taken up the hatchet because of wrongs committed by the English, and most of the people of Pennsylvania were ready to accept this explanation.

Amid legislative debates and investigations, the Assembly brought forth a measure rather for correcting Indian abuses than for providing the much-needed defense of the West. The bill provided for the regulation of the Indian trade by commissioners appointed by the Assembly, who would establish rules for fair trading and set maximum prices on goods sold to the Indians.¹³ No doubt there were many members who sincerely believed that something could be done by remedial measures even at this late date. Franklin, however, candidly told the Assembly that the measure could have only a long-range effect on Indian relations and that emergency measures must be passed in the present crisis. For this purpose he now drafted his famous militia bill. With burning and killing by the Indians all along the frontier, sentiment in the Province was rising for a militia law, although Peters admitted as late as three weeks after the first attack that the "people are in general averse to it, . . ." ¹⁴ So far, he thought the people were meeting the test bravely: about one thousand men had gathered at Harris' Ferry; and York, Cumberland, and Lancaster counties had another thousand men under arms. It was impossible, however,

¹¹ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 8.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1754-1756, 39; Franklin Papers, LVII, Part 2, 100, (American Philosophical Society). The Indian trade bill was vetoed by the Governor. While a member of the Assembly in 1751, Pemberton had advocated a law for the regulation of the Indian trade. *Votes of the Assembly*, IV, 194.

¹⁴ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 10.

to prevent Indian incursions along a wilderness frontier of more than two hundred miles, and horrible massacres continued with little hope of soon ending them.¹⁵

But relief for the frontier was still apparently subordinate in the minds of the Governor and the members of the Assembly, who again fell into their usual deadlock over taxation and appropriations. Franklin was accused of using the plight of the Province in a scheme to force the Proprietors to allow Pennsylvania to tax their Provincial estates and revenues. The bill in question provided for the taxation of all real and personal property in the Province including the Proprietary estates. It further offended the Proprietors by requiring the Governor to act with an Assembly commission in the expenditure of all funds raised thereby. Thus Franklin would gain political power through the passage of the act; he would weaken and embarrass the Proprietary government; he would be applauded by the people for subjecting the Proprietary estates to taxation; and lastly, he would have a sufficient sum of money to raise, arm, and provision a militia for the defense of the West.

The state of affairs on the frontier underwent a great change between November 10, when Peters wrote that the people were meeting the crisis calmly and gathering for their defense, and November 25, when reports came that the morale was quite shattered and panic had seized the whole West.¹⁶ Much of the country was being abandoned by the inhabitants, and the roads leading east were thronged with fleeing refugees.¹⁷ The Assembly had sent some guns and ammunition to the frontier, but the supply in Philadelphia was altogether inadequate to meet the demand. Winter was coming on, and fear of famine was rising fast with so much of the frontier evacuated and its produce left for the Indians to destroy.¹⁸ It was problematical that the eastern counties could support the crowds of destitute people, and, to add to the perplexity, it was reported that a large body of Germans and other westerners were gathering to march on Philadelphia to demand that the Gov-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 19.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 19; T. F. Gordon, *A History of Pennsylvania from Its Discovery by Europeans to 1776*, 311.

ernor and Assembly cease bickering and give the West immediate and adequate relief.¹⁹

It so happened, that on the day before the vanguard of the frontiersmen reached Philadelphia, the Assembly received notice that the Proprietors would give £5,000 toward Pennsylvania's defense in lieu of having their estates taxed.²⁰ The next day about three hundred Germans arrived from the frontier, maddened and half-crazed by the disaster which had befallen them. They manifestly were in no mood to be toyed with, but when they heard that the Proprietors had given a large sum for their defense, they became less intractable. However, before leaving the city, they appeared at the State House and made their demands very plain to the Assembly. The latter, not a little startled by the thinly veiled threats, unequivocally assured them that their demands would be met without delay.²¹ This the Assembly was now willing to do in view of the Proprietary gift. Soon bills were passed for raising £60,000 by a tax on all estates except those of the Proprietors' and for issuing £50,000 in paper money. Governor Morris signed the bills but the question of the taxation of the Proprietary estates was not settled: it merely was postponed.

While the Germans were in Philadelphia, the Governor was in hope of using them to force the Assembly to accept his version of a militia law. But the Germans were quite satisfied with the aid promised by the Assembly and not at all interested in becoming a tool for the Governor. Frustrated in his design, Governor Morris was compelled to accept the Franklin militia bill.²²

Thomas Penn's apparent liberality in offering £5,000 for defense had a hitch in it, inasmuch as the money was to be collected from arrears in quitrents, which were difficult to collect in ordinary times.²³ But with the urgent need of money for the West, James

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VII, 173.

²² Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 18; A. D. Graeff, *The Relations Between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities (1750-1776)*, 139. Graeff thinks the Germans forced the hand of the Assembly. More likely, it seems, the threat of the mob caused the Governor to sign the Assembly bills. See Graeff, *op. cit.*, 135.

²³ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 18. A portion of a letter from Peters to Penn states: "but true it is that the body of ye people are against you, & it will not after this invasion & distruction be in our power to execute any orders for ye recovery of your arrears. . . ." See Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 13.

Hamilton, together with Isaac Norris, John Mifflin, Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Fox, Evan Morgan, and John Hughes agreed to advance the Proprietary gift from their private purses. Of the above, all but Hamilton and Mifflin were members of the Assembly. Peters now admitted that "tho the majority of them have been stiff in opposition against Prop^r & Gov. . . they are for defense."²⁴ The records, therefore, contain ample proof that political, and not religious, considerations caused the Assembly to delay in providing for Provincial defense.²⁵

The Franklin militia act quite divested the Governor of his executive prerogative to head and direct Provincial military affairs. Morris' only hope was that the plan would prove impractical and the frontier would force the Assembly to return the control of the militia to the executive.²⁶ There was little compulsion in the militia law. It provided simply for establishing, equipping, and provisioning companies of voluntary recruits. This was reprehensible enough in the eyes of the Proprietary men, but infinitely more so was a provision for the election by the common soldiers of all officers, who would meet with the Governor to make the necessary rules for governing the militia. The act, furthermore, provided that no militiaman could be sent on more than a three-day march beyond the settlements without his personal consent. Likewise, no soldier could be held on garrison duty against his will longer than three weeks.²⁷ The act plainly was very weak in a military sense, but it truly reflected the democratic spirit at large in Pennsylvania.

The advent of war on the Pennsylvania frontier in the fall of 1755 found the Quakers divided as never before. As in the previous war, they were divided into those who would sanction measures for defense and those who refused to abandon the traditional pacifism of the Society of Friends.²⁸ Formerly, the martial Quakers com-

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Graeff and others have stated that the Assembly used the Proprietary dispute to cloak their disinclination to provide for defense because of religious scruples. See Graeff, *op. cit.*, 101-102.

²⁶ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 18.

²⁷ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 27, 1755; *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, IV, 197.

²⁸ The Moravians of Bethlehem and environs were acknowledged pacifists, but after the Delawares fell on their towns and wiped out Gnädenhütten, they divested themselves of their scruples with alacrity and fortified Bethlehem. Some of the very

prised but a rather small minority of the Friends prominent in public affairs, but in 1755, although the majority of Quakers probably clung to the strict pacifism of their fathers, most of those prominent in public affairs no longer did so.

To Israel Pemberton the Quaker followers of Benjamin Franklin were apostates who had forfeited their religious principles for the sake of vanity and power. "If we may judge of the Society in general," he wrote, "by the conduct of the Representatives of the Province little better can be expected, and considering the stations & characters of some of them, who are old in years and profession, there's too much cause to apprehend their example & influence will have a bad effect on others, . . ." The Quakers in the Assembly who supported the Franklin program, Israel said, had "been led step by step much farther than they would formerly have gone [and], it's not unlikely every contrivance will be pursu'd to prevent their having it in their power to retreat with any degree of reputation."²⁹ The events of the past few months in Pennsylvania, he went on to point out, had "produc'd a greater & more fatal change both with respect to the state of our affairs in general & among us as a Society than seventy preceding years."³⁰ The Society of Friends, he declared, lamented the extremely disrespectful treatment of the Governor and Proprietors by the Assembly. The stinging and provocative notes addressed by the Assembly to the Governor were penned, as everyone knew, by Benjamin Franklin. However, Pemberton's sudden interest in the Proprietors was not due to a concern for their welfare but to the thought that they might be useful in checking Franklin and his defense program.

The strict Quakers found little reason to oppose Franklin's militia bill, but his measure for the taxation of all estates for the

Indians who massacred the people of Gnädenhutzen had been the recipients of great kindness from the Moravians. See O. Kuhns, *The Germans and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*, 204; Gordon, *op. cit.*, 319.

²⁹ Pemberton Papers, XI, 20. Regarding the Assembly Pemberton wrote: "This would not gratify their darling scheme of gaining some advantage over the Governor & proprietor, for the sake of which every other consideration seem'd to be little regarded." Of the militia act he said: "their entering into these measures to be carried into execution by a committee of their own nomination [was] a manifest inconsistency and not to be reconciled to the profession . . ." of the Society of Friends. See Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 8.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, XI, 20-21.

purpose of waging war aroused their sharpest criticism. The Society of Friends, they argued, did not feel responsible for laws passed by men who professed to be Quakers yet whose actions plainly spoke the contrary; and as the tax was plainly a levy for war, they were bound by conscience to refuse to pay it. When the bill for £60,000 became law, Israel Pemberton declared that the mind of every true Quaker became troubled. Writing to Dr. Fothergill, he said: "As soon as it was known that a majority of the House had consented to that method of raising money it struck a damp on many of our minds, & doubt, whether we could individually give our approbation to this measure by freely paying our assessments, . . ." He explained that he had not made a personal protest when the bill first was proposed, because he felt assured the Governor would veto it. Furthermore, he had felt obliged to wait until Quaker thought had crystallized a little more on the matter before making an issue of it. As a matter of fact, the question was raised at the Yearly Meeting in September, but the Society had appeared so hopelessly divided that no action was taken.³¹ This explains why Israel spoke of Quakers "individually" manifesting their disapprobation of the measure, for as much as he would have desired to have the Society take a stand on the matter, he could get few to agree for fear of irreparably dividing the Society.

The division among Friends, however, did not prevent Pemberton and about twenty others from drafting a protest to the tax bill and presenting it to the Assembly in November. Richard Peters, with some logic, doubted their sincerity, believing that Pemberton and his followers could have prevented the passage had they really insisted upon it.³² That Peters did not understand the meaning of the division among Friends is apparent.

The direct tax for £60,000 would be heavy. It called for an assessment of six pence per pound for four years on all estates real and personal.³³ Israel Pemberton's tax, therefore, would be considerable. The act stated that the tax was designed incidentally to force speculators to sell land held for long periods of time to the detriment of the Province.³⁴ Pemberton possibly may have been affected

³¹ *Ibid.*, XI, 21.

³² Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 12.

³³ *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, IV, 202.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 205.

in this way as well. However, it is doubtful that he was using religion to protect his private interests. He had consistently opposed appropriations for war whether the projected tax was high or low.³⁵ Again, the fact that his gifts for public enterprises conforming to his religion were generous likewise argues for his sincerity.

The Indian war, which up to December had been waged by the Ohio Indians, seemed likely toward the close of the year to widen and include the Delawares inhabiting the Wyoming Valley. So far these Indians, unmindful of French threats, had refused to join their western brothers. Scarroyady, as early as October, had warned that unless Pennsylvania armed these Indians and gave protection for their families, they would surely be compelled to join the enemy. Notwithstanding the logic of Scarroyady's advice, the Governor was obliged to turn down the proposal for lack of funds.³⁶ The Proprietary party made the most of the affair, charging the failure to Quaker pacifism in the Assembly. The political feud partly accounts for the refusal of the Assembly to arm the natives, in addition to which, the House was reluctant to offend the Six Nations by putting the hatchet in the hands of the Wyoming Indians. Moreover, as events recently had shown, arming Indians was no guarantee that they would not turn and use the weapons upon the English. Whether or not the Assembly realized it, the Susquehanna Delawares would not have fought against their own people and it would be difficult, indeed, for them to single out the French. Nothing remained, therefore, but to neutralize them.

From the beginning of hostilities, the Quakers and most of the people in the eastern counties believed that the Susquehanna Delawares would remain friendly. These Indians had given promises of enduring friendship only a few months before, and inasmuch as they lived so near the Six Nations, it was thought unlikely they would dare act independently. However, from the time of the first attacks many people on the frontier believed that some of the Susquehanna Delawares participated in the raids. The main body

³⁵ H. Jenkins, *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal*, I, 449. Actually the measure avoided any statement to the effect that the money would be spent for war. Rather, it stipulated that it would be used for the King's service, for provisions, maintaining posts and roads, carrying express, and meeting Indian charges. *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, IV, 201.

³⁶ Weiser Correspondence, I, 59; C. H. Sipe, *Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, 232-233.

of enemy Indians harassing the frontier was encamped but thirty miles above Harris' Ferry during November and December. They were led by Shingas and Jacobs, Ohio Delawares, who had been the chief recipients of presents from Pennsylvania for years.³⁷ John Harris declared that the western men would "kill all Indians they can see let the consequences be what it will," and advised that a fort be built at Shamokin to keep the Wyoming Delawares quiet. The rest of the friendly Indians (chiefly those under the care of the Moravians) should be collected and furnished with a guard and provisions. Only this step could prevent "us creating ourselves more enemys than we have already . . .," he concluded.³⁸ Heeding the advice of Harris, Governor Morris asked the Assembly to consider putting the friendly Indians under guard. But the Assembly feared that this would be misconstrued by the Wyoming Indians and cause them to go over to the French.³⁹ Admittedly either course was fraught with danger.

While the government debated what to do about the Wyoming Indians, the lawless element—which was always numerous on the frontier—did its best to alienate the friendship of all Indians. Conrad Weiser, the Indian interpreter, in a letter to Thomas Penn, graphically described the perplexity of those Indians who desired to remain neutral. He wrote:

I fear that the rudeness, lawlessness, and ignorance of the back inhabitants . . . will bring a general Indian Warr over us, . . . They curse and damn the Indian and call them murdering dogs into their faces without distinction, when on the other hand these poor Indians, that are still our friends, do not know where to go for safety; in the woods they are in danger of being killed & their young men joining our Enemy, among us they are in danger of being killed by the mob, . . .⁴⁰

Failing to move the Assembly to take any action respecting the Indians on the Susquehanna, Governor Morris and Council decided to send Scarroyady and Andrew Montour to the Six Nations with a request that they put pressure on the Ohio Indians to stop

³⁷ Gordon, *op. cit.*, 311.

³⁸ Penn MMS: Official Correspondence, VII, 127.

³⁹ Franklin Papers, LVIII, Part 2, 100_b (American Philosophical Society).

⁴⁰ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VIII, 61; *Johnson Papers*, IX, 334; C. Thomson, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delawares and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest*, 82-83.

their war upon Pennsylvania and invite the Susquehanna Delawares to take up the hatchet on behalf of the English.⁴¹ The latter request, however, was omitted from the petition when the messengers left Philadelphia early in December. The Susquehanna Delawares were then believed to be on the verge of openly joining the western Indians and it was feared that any form of pressure from the Six Nations might only precipitate this.

When Scarroyady and Montour left Philadelphia they struck out for the East Branch of the Susquehanna. But before they reached Diahoga (Tioga), the chief town of the Delawares, they met a party of warriors headed by Teedyuscung, now the recognized leader among them. The Susquehanna Indians, Scarroyady learned, had decided on war and were now going against the Pennsylvania settlements. Teedyuscung informed Scarroyady that he had sent to the Senecas and Oneidas for aid but had received no answer from them.⁴² Apparently Teedyuscung considered the war against the English a common one to all Indians.

For years the English as well as the Six Nations had thought of the Susquehanna Delawares as a degenerate and spiritless band who were devoid of the necessary qualities to do good or inflict harm. They were remnants of most of the Delaware tribes which formerly had inhabited the regions of eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey. But the fury with which they now struck the unhappy Pennsylvania and New Jersey settlements was calculated to demonstrate to the world that they were a power to be feared and one deserving of respect. Very likely their deep desire to throw off the hated bondage imposed by the Iroquois and to reassume their independence partly explains the cause of their going to war.

William Johnson, adopted son of the Mohawks and British Indian agent for all the English colonies north of Maryland, did not wait for Pennsylvania to register an appeal to the Six Nations against the Delawares and Shawnees. At a conference with the chiefs of the Six Nations early in December, he urged them to use their influence and power to bring the Ohio Indians to terms. A few days later, Johnson sent messengers to the offending Indians

⁴¹ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1754-1756, 54.

⁴² Thomson, *op. cit.*, 85; *Johnson Papers*, IX, 334.

asking them to desist and to bring their grievances to him for settlement.⁴³ When it was reported that the Delawares along the Susquehanna had entered the war, a similar message was sent to them.

The Mohawk message demanded that the Susquehanna Indians "get sober; as they look upon their actions as the actions of drunken men."⁴⁴ But the Delawares were not to be cowed as formerly and boldly informed the Mohawks that "We are Men, and are determined not to be ruled any longer by you as Women; and we are determined to cut off all the English . . . so say no more to us on that Heal, less we make Women of you. . . ." ⁴⁵ In their messages the Delawares intimated that they had been encouraged to make war by the Senecas.⁴⁶ Johnson was not unaware of the double part the Senecas were playing in the war. In February at a Six Nation council, he opened the touchy subject to the chiefs. The Senecas, who recently had lost a number of warriors while attacking the English to the south, were tactfully reproved by Johnson and remembrance of it was ceremoniously washed from the minds of all.⁴⁷

During most of December James Hamilton, the former Governor, but now a member of the Council, was at Easton, a small frontier town, endeavoring to enlist men under the terms of the militia act for the defense of Northampton County. To Hamilton's disgust, he soon discovered that the people were so much the victims of fear and apathy, that few would enlist no matter how reasonable the terms or attractive the pay. "One would think they would gladly embrace the opportunity of revenging themselves on the authors of their ruin," he wrote, "but the terror that has seized them is so great or their spirit so small, that unless men come from other parts of the Province, I despair of getting such a number here as will be sufficient to garrison the block house. . . ." ⁴⁸ Apparently, not all the people on the frontier were as brave as is often claimed. During an Indian raid against the northern part of Lancaster County in May 1757, a party of fleeing settlers were within eighty

⁴³ *Johnson Papers*, IX, 328, 331, 333-334.

⁴⁴ Thomson, *op. cit.*, 86.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Johnson Papers*, IX, 356.

⁴⁸ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VII, 197; Graeff, *op. cit.*, 144; *Colonial Records*, VI, 72.

rods of a fort when they were overtaken and killed by a small party of Indians. Not a man in the fort would venture out to help the hapless people, although the number of men in the fort greatly exceeded the number of Indians.⁴⁹

During the winter of 1755-1756, the Pennsylvania commissioners built a series of forts in a line from Fort Hamilton on the site of Stroudsburg to the Maryland border below Carlisle.⁵⁰ James Hamilton thought the forts would prove of little value in keeping the Indians from the settlements regardless of the fact that they were but a few miles apart. Furthermore, there remained the problem of raising sufficient funds to maintain the forts. Instead of defense, Hamilton favored a bold offensive by a formal declaration of war against the Delawares, a large bounty for their scalps, and a formidable expedition dispatched directly against their towns. Only such a plan, he believed, would save the Province from a long Indian war and ruinous taxation.⁵¹

As Hamilton predicted, the blockhouses failed to prevent Indian incursions. Many audacious bands of Delawares took particular delight in carrying their barbarous warfare within sight of the forts: smoke and blaze dotted the frontier as in the days before the fortifications were built. Strange as it may seem, the entire fighting strength of the Susquehanna Indians probably was not above two hundred men, while the warrior population of the Ohio was hardly more than eight hundred.⁵² However, it was estimated in March 1756, that the Indians had killed over two hundred people in Pennsylvania alone besides taking nearly as many captives.⁵³

Before the winter had passed, the wisdom of the Pennsylvania Assembly's defense program was widely questioned. The belief that the militia should take the initiative and strike out against the Indian towns, instead of remaining cooped up in forts, was rapidly gaining among all but the pacifists. Opposition to Franklin's militia law was growing. Hamilton declared that men of no character or ability solicited and obtained election as officers. Until

⁴⁹ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 23.

⁵⁰ Sipe, *op. cit.*, 252-253.

⁵¹ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VII, 197.

⁵² Sipe, *op. cit.*, 133.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 28.

the law was changed, he believed, all efforts to defend the country would be fraught with failure. Responsible officers were imperative, he said, as well as the right to court-martial and punish deserters.⁵⁴ But Franklin, who had been elected colonel by the militia officers, was loathe to admit the law a failure, and for the time being the only change made was to have men range the woods between the forts.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 27-30. Maryland adopted the Pennsylvania militia system and likewise experienced an appreciable loss in effectiveness. See N. D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, 312-315.

⁵⁵ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VIII, 75. The militia collected outside the Governor's house and shouted for Franklin until the Governor consented to issue Franklin his colonelcy. It must be said for Franklin, however, that he refused such a rank in 1747 when it was offered him. See C. Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, 186, 248. An act of January 1757 legalized court-martial under the terms of the English military code. See *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, IV, 281; Norris' Letter Book, 1719-1756, 98.

CHAPTER VII

THE FRIENDLY ASSOCIATION

IN MARCH 1756, Scarroyady and Montour returned to Philadelphia from their mission to Johnson Hall and the Onondaga Castle. They chose to return by way of the Susquehanna Valley and directly through the Delaware towns where, regardless of reprimands by the Mohawks and the Oneidas, they could discover no intention of the Delawares' abandoning the war against the English. At one place they met a party of eighty Delaware warriors going against the English settlements.¹ Notwithstanding the fact that Johnson had recently received a promise from the Delawares to attend a projected conference at Onondaga for investigating the causes of the war and taking steps to terminate it, the messengers did not believe much, if any, good would result.²

Scarroyady's discouraging report, coupled with his recommendation that Pennsylvania get at the root of the trouble by attacking the Delaware towns, convinced Governor Morris and his Council that it was time to take the drastic measures which James Hamilton and others had long recommended. The messengers agreed with Hamilton that in order to prosecute a vigorous program, it was also necessary to place a high bounty on Delaware scalps and build a fort at Shamokin, guarding the entrance to the Wyoming Valley.³ By this time practically all Pennsylvanians except the pacifists were clamoring for an energetic prosecution of the war.

When Israel Pemberton heard of the Governor's vigorous plan for waging war, he roundly denounced it as nothing more than a vicious and wicked plot to exterminate the Delawares.⁴ Indeed,

¹ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1754-1756, 77.

² *Ibid.*

³ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VIII, 71; C. Z. Weiser, *Life of Conrad Weiser*, 241. Shamokin, now Sunbury, was at the junction of the east and west branches of the Susquehanna.

⁴ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 2; I. Sharpless, *History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania*, I, 222-223.

the news that Governor Morris intended at an early date to declare war against the Delawares and set a bounty for their scalps, seemed to arouse the Quakers even more than the taxes for war. The Quakers believed that a declaration of war would effectively close the door on any peaceable adjustment of Indian relations and commit Pennsylvania to a long and bloody war. Not only was it apparent that the reputation of the Province and the Society of Friends would suffer from a vicious and barbaric war to exterminate the Indians, but also the possibility of the Quakers ever regaining their political leadership would be lost as the people were taught to look to others for leadership. The Quakers, therefore, realized that they must rouse themselves from their lethargy and make strenuous efforts for peace or resign themselves to a waning and negligible voice in the affairs of Pennsylvania.

After a day of consultation among the leading members of the Society, Israel Pemberton and Samuel Fothergill were chosen to wait upon Governor Morris in protest of the impending declaration of war. The two Quakers found James Hamilton, now Governor Morris' chief adviser, with the Governor. Both, however, listened politely to the Quakers who maintained that the Governor and Council could not justify their measures on grounds of expediency or humanity.⁵ After the hearing, Pemberton and Fothergill were obliged to admit that their words had fallen on deaf ears. The next day the Quakers held another meeting, but they still were at a loss to know how to help matters or change the course of events. They decided, however, to send a second address to the Governor and one to the Assembly in the hope of causing them to reconsider the matter.⁶

In their second address to the Governor, the Quakers declared that they individually and as a body were ready to make great sacrifices toward the reestablishment of friendly relations with the Delawares, "even though a much larger part of our estates should be necessary than the heaviest taxes of a war can be expected to require. . . ." ⁷ This quotation brings to mind the time, four years before, when the Quakers made lavish contributions for the Penn-

⁵ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 12.

⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 22, 1756.

⁷ *Ibid.*

sylvania Hospital to disarm their opponents and demonstrate to the world that their refusal to countenance a defense program was not from parsimonious motives.

Pemberton believed that William Johnson's attempt to restore peace was the only thing which had prevented the Pennsylvania authorities from declaring war and offering rewards for scalps months before. The wholesale resort to bounties on scalps, he declared, would involve "the innocent with the guilty," and "would encourage the bloodthirsty Presbyterians to murder our friendly Indians and lay a foundation for a general war, by the very measures they thought of ending one with a single tribe."⁸ Still hoping for a change in policy, Pemberton told the Governor that if he would use his office in an endeavor to make peace, he would immediately be supplied by the Quakers with "whatever sum of money should be wanting, even to the amount of five thousand pounds, . . ."⁹ But the Governor still remained unmoved by Pemberton's representations.

In a conversation with Conrad Weiser about this time, Israel Pemberton had the satisfaction of learning that he agreed that Pennsylvania's best course lay in seeking peace with the Indians.¹⁰ Weiser probably suggested that, if an offer of amnesty should be given the Indians by Pennsylvania, peace might yet be restored. At any rate, Weiser soon recommended a friendly Delaware to Pemberton as one who would take an offer of peace to the Indians.¹¹ The Quakers were swift to seize the opportunity and, presently, Israel Pemberton was again with Governor Morris, this time to ask his consent for a meeting between the Quakers and the Indians then in town for the purpose of soliciting their aid in offering terms of peace to the Delawares. Pemberton explained that the Quakers would bear all expenses involved. To the gratification of the

⁸ Address to Governor Denny, August 1757, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers; Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 12. Pemberton apparently feared involving Pennsylvania in a war with the Six Nations.

⁹ Address to Governor Denny, August 1757, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ S. Parrish, *History of the Friendly Association*, 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.* In an address penned by Pemberton to Governor Denny in August 1757, he traced the history of the Quaker activities in the interest of peace from its inception in April 1756. In this he stated that Conrad Weiser had acknowledged the Indians were dissatisfied because of alleged land frauds. In October 1757, Weiser declared he had made no such statement and that Pemberton had written them to strengthen his own case. See Weiser, *op. cit.*, 241.

Friends, Morris consented on condition that Conrad Weiser be present to represent the government and to offer his knowledge and advice in the matter.¹²

The Quakers, however, had discovered a possible solution to the Indian war too late to prevent the Governor and Council from making a declaration of war and offering bounties on Indian scalps. The action came two days after the Quakers had made their second appeal to the Governor against the measures. But it was not improbable that a revocation could be obtained if the peace plan seemed likely to succeed, and, inasmuch as the Governor had sanctioned the meeting with the Indians, it was apparent that he had not closed his mind to a peace with the Delawares.

A few days later Israel Pemberton gave a dinner at his home on Chestnut Street to which all the Indians then in Philadelphia together with a number of prominent Quakers and others were invited. In all about fourteen Indians were present including Scarroyady, the Oneida, and Newcastle, Jagrea, and Locquies of the Delawares. After dinner in an address to the Indians Israel Pemberton said:

I am glad to see you here and to have an opportunity of informing you that as William Penn & our fathers who first settled this Province were men of peace & against all wars, so there are still many of us their children who hold the same principles, and we hope there are many of your people who still have a love & regard for their old friends.¹³

Scarroyady then arose and replied: "I am very glad to hear this account, we love that principle of peace & wish all mankind were of the same mind, knowing it would prevent any cause of difference or contention between us and the English & take away the occasion of war." ¹⁴ Scarroyady next gave the Quakers a lecture on their late indifference and unconcern for the welfare of the Indians. Had the Quakers, instead of forgetting the Redmen, kept in touch with them and shown them the consideration of former days, they would not have become embittered and alienated, Scarroyady declared.¹⁵

¹² *Colonial Records*, VII, 103; Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 12.

¹³ Etting Collection: Miscellaneous, I, 84.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Israel Pemberton then opened to Scarroyady and the people assembled his plan for restoring friendship between Pennsylvania and the Delawares. If Scarroyady and the other Indians would become messengers of peace, he said, the Quakers would as mediators apply for amnesty for the Indians from the government of Pennsylvania.¹⁶ Two days later a second meeting was held at Israel's home. Pemberton opened it by presenting Scarroyady with a string of wampum, a ceremony essential for the transmission of any business with Indians in council. He reiterated the concern Quakers felt for the alienation of the Delawares, repeated the offer of Quaker mediation, and presented Scarroyady with a long white belt of wampum which constituted a message of peace to the Delawares.¹⁷ After two days a third meeting was held at which Scarroyady thanked the Quakers for the peace belt and announced that Newcastle, Jagrea, and Locquies, the Delawares, would take the message to Tioga.¹⁸ Soon after, Scarroyady set out for the Onondaga Castle by way of New York City to solicit the help of Johnson and the Six Nations in the new peace movement. The three Delawares were left to take the peace belt direct to the Indians along the East Branch of the Susquehanna.¹⁹

The success of the several conferences put Israel Pemberton in high spirits. Richard Peters wrote: "Israel Pemberton is enthusiastically persuaded that this measure will take effect and bring about a peace with the Susquehanna Indians and express his great desire that the Governor might have the honor to make a peace before his successor arrives." ²⁰ William Logan, son of James Logan, confided in his cousin, Israel Pemberton, that although he sincerely wished the peace plan to succeed, he feared it would prove abortive. Many thought it was "too difficult, if not impossible, to be put in execution," he said.²¹

After long deliberation Israel Pemberton and Conrad Weiser requested the Governor to allow the Quakers to represent the peace offer as arising from the recommendation of Scarroyady and hav-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 86.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VIII, 75.

²¹ Pemberton Papers, XI, 71.

ing the approval of the Government.²² Morris hesitated, replying that he would confer with his Council before making a decision. The Council, however, advised him not to involve the Government in the affair at this time, but to leave it entirely to the Quakers, inasmuch as the Province had declared war against the Delawares but one week before. Should the Government now sponsor the Quaker peace plan, it would open itself to charges of weakness, inconsistency, and vacillation, the Council maintained.²³

After Scarroyady had left, the three Delawares expressed their disinclination to carry out their part of the plan. The Indians offered the excuse that Scarroyady had arranged to dispatch them without securing their consent; but, more than likely, they were simply angling for more money from the Quakers.²⁴ Meanwhile, Morris received a report from the Governor of New York announcing that a peace was likely to be accommodated with the Delawares through the intercession of Johnson and the Six Nations. It was apparent now to both Governor and Council that the Quakers could not be permitted to reap the political advantages sure to follow a treaty with the Indians.

Governor Morris, therefore, made preparations for sending the Delawares to Tioga in his own name. The Quakers, sensing a great opportunity escaping them, earnestly entreated the Governor to allow them to finance the mission but, notwithstanding the attractiveness of their offer, he declined by professing an aversion to the participation of private men in the affairs of government.²⁵ The Quakers, however, succeeded in having the Governor incorporate a clause stating that there were a large number of descendants of those who came over with William Penn, who manifested a desire to become the mediators between the Indians and the government of Pennsylvania in view of restoring peace by granting the Indians amnesty and forgiveness.²⁶

Already Israel Pemberton had written William Johnson, announcing the plans being made and soliciting his aid in the

²² *Colonial Records*, VII, 104.

²³ *Ibid.*; Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 13.

²⁴ *Colonial Records*, VII, 105.

²⁵ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 35.

²⁶ Etting Collection: Miscellaneous, I, 87.

endeavor. Israel candidly acknowledged that the success or failure of the undertaking rested largely with Johnson. "Our principal reliance of assistance therein is on thee," the letter read, and "the interest thou hast both with your governor and with the Indians will enable thee to do more than any or even many others can, and without the interposition and concurrence of some, in whom the Indians can confide there's no room to expect a permanent peace will be made."²⁷ Upon learning that the Governor was sending the Indians in his own name, Israel at once sent Johnson and Governor Sir Charles Hardy of New York minutes of the conferences held with the Indians at his home so as "to prevent any misrepresentation of our conduct as well as to engage the friendship of gentlemen from whom we hoped to receive more hearty assistance than we had from those on whom we had hitherto depended."²⁸ Johnson and Hardy were informed, furthermore, that the Quakers would bear any reasonable expense requested of them by Pennsylvania or New York toward promoting the restoration of peace.

When Johnson heard that the Pennsylvania authorities had declared war upon the Delawares without waiting for the result of his negotiations with them, he could not contain his indignation and disgust. "What will the Delawares and Shawanese think of such opposition and Contradiction in our Conduct?" he asked in a letter to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts. "How shall I behave at the approaching Meeting at Onondagua, not only to those Indians but to the Six Nations; these Hostile Measures which Mr. Morris has Entered into is Throwing all our Schemes into Confusion."²⁹ The Governor and Council now wished more heed had been given to the Quaker protest against the declaration of war. Richard Peters admitted to Isaac Norris "that it might have been better if the declaration of war agst [against] the Delawares had not been so precipitated or proclaimed. . . ,"³⁰ and the Council

²⁷ *Johnson Papers*, IX, 441-443. The original letter is in the Huntington Library. The *Johnson Papers* give the date of it as May 25, 1756; the correct date is April 25, 1756.

²⁸ Address to Governor Denny, August 1757, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers; Huntington Library, MS LO-1083.

²⁹ *Colonial Records*, VII, 117.

³⁰ Norris' Letter Book, 1719-1756, 97.

speedily decided that "the Governor should Publish a cessation of Hostilities against the Delawares until the Result of the Meeting of the Indians at Onondagua should be known. . . ." ³¹

Israel Pemberton felt encouraged by the turn events had taken and, although he failed to receive a reply from William Johnson, the latter's silence was interpreted as admitting approval of what the Quakers had done. He, therefore, proceeded to lay plans for further Quaker participation in securing peace with the Indians. Near the end of May he received word that the peace message had been well received at Tioga, although they remained very distrustful of English sincerity. ³²

As reports came in William Johnson's fears rose that Pennsylvania's declaration of war had dashed all hope of peace. He heard that the Delawares had been told that Pennsylvania was determined to exterminate them at the first opportunity and that, therefore, they would not attend the Onondaga conference but would stay home to meet the Pennsylvania invasion. ³³ The fortune of the English was further depressed by renewed activity of the anti-English party among the Six Nations. About the time when Johnson's hope of making any headway in peace was at its lowest ebb, deputies of the anti-English faction held a council with the Delawares at Tioga wherein the independency of the Delawares was acknowledged. The Six Nation delegates (there probably were no representatives of the Mohawks and Oneidas) maintained that the interests of the Indians were common and advocated a union of all against the white men. The English and French, the chiefs declared, were but fighting for the Indians' land and should be opposed. The Delawares were given a belt of wampum with a large square representing the lands of the Indians, and on each side a man depicting the English and the French who coveted their land. At this conference, the Six Nation Indians recognized Teedyuscung, the Delaware warrior, as chief of the Indians in the Susquehanna Valley. ³⁴ Thus they sought to reestablish an Indian block holding

³¹ *Colonial Records*, VII, 117.

³² Northampton County: Miscellaneous Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, 1741-1849.
³³ (Historical Society of Pennsylvania); Etting Collection: Miscellaneous, I, 87.

³³ *Johnson Papers*, IX, 456.

³⁴ C. Thomson, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delawares and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest*, 91.

the balance of power between the English and French, which could effectively check the encroachments of either.

Notwithstanding all this, Newcastle, the Delaware, returned to Philadelphia on the thirty-first of May from Tioga with a favorable report on the peace proposal. Hope now ran high that peace would soon be made, and Richard Peters admitted that there had been no hostilities east of the Susquehanna since peace had been proposed to them.³⁵ Israel Pemberton became greatly strengthened in his belief that all the Indians needed to make them peaceful neighbors was sympathetic treatment. He wrote:

From the time of the first messengers arriving at Teagon [Tioga] the hostilities on our northern frontiers ceased, and a stop being put to the cruel devastations that had been committed, an acceptable respite was obtained for our distressed subjects, which affords us real pleasure and satisfaction, so that all the malicious calumnies and aspersions (which then were utter'd) were not sufficient to divert us from the steady prosecution of our purpose.³⁶

Ironically enough, on the very day the Governor of Pennsylvania proclaimed his armistice, New Jersey declared war on the Delawares and set on foot an expedition against them. The New Jersey force, however, did no more injury to the Indians than burn some abandoned cabins in the lower Wyoming Valley.³⁷

Just why the Susquehanna Indians accepted the Pennsylvania peace proposal may appear obscure in the face of their success in war and their recent understanding with the anti-English faction of the Six Nations. The answer, it would seem, lies in the fact that the Delawares were greatly alarmed when Pennsylvania decided to carry the war into their country. Furthermore, at a treaty they would surely be the recipients of large presents in the form of a peace offering. It was not in the nature of Indians to let an opportunity escape for receiving bounty from friend or foe.

Newcastle returned to Philadelphia about the middle of July with news that Teedyuscung was already waiting for the Governor at Bethlehem with about thirty followers. The Assembly promptly voted £300 for treaty expenses and Indian presents and made the

³⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 10, 1756; Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, 1754-1755, 87; Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 50.

³⁶ Address to Governor Denny, August 1757, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

³⁷ Thomson, *op. cit.*, 90.

Governor dependent upon a legislative commission for its expenditure.³⁸ Richard Peters admitted that the prospects for peace continued to mount and the frontier was quiet.³⁹ At this critical stage, Governor Morris demonstrated his incapacity for governmental leadership by risking through delay and indecision all that had been gained. A whole month passed before he met the Indians at Easton, during which it was feared a clash would occur between the Indians and the townspeople.⁴⁰

Israel Pemberton and his followers had no intention of trusting the delicate peace negotiations entirely to the Governor and Council nor even to the Commissioners of the Assembly. In defense of their preparations to attend the conference, Pemberton claimed that Newcastle had assured him that Quaker presence was necessary to give the Indians confidence in the English.⁴¹ Realizing that the £300 voted by the Assembly was likely to prove insufficient, and knowing that the Provincial treasury was empty, he now set on foot a program to solicit a large sum among the Quakers.

On July 22, Israel Pemberton called a general meeting at the new Meeting House of all Friends who approved of Quaker intercession in behalf of peace with the Indians.⁴² Friends responded to the call with an eagerness and enthusiasm which must have surprised the most sanguine among them. To Pemberton the occasion presented an opportunity which offered a likely solution of a permanent nature to the Pennsylvania-Indian problem. The optimism engendered in Quaker circles by the peace prospectus and their willingness to make generous contributions for the cause of peace convinced him that the time was opportune to establish a large fund as a permanent endowment for Indian affairs, the interest on which would be annually appropriated for improving the welfare and assuring the friendship of the natives. Four Friends, Israel and John Pemberton, John Reynell, and Jonathan Mifflin, each gave £100 for the fund and before the meeting had adjourned

³⁸ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 16.

³⁹ Peters MSS, IV, 64.

⁴⁰ Northampton County: Miscellaneous MSS, 1727-1758, 204. The wily Delawares, mistrusting the sincerity of Pennsylvania, left more than half their band of warriors beyond the settlements just in case a trap was planned.

⁴¹ Address to Governor Denny, *loc. cit.*

⁴² Smith MSS, V, 12.

over £2,000 was subscribed.⁴³ Although little or nothing was done toward formally organizing an association until fall, the day marks the birth of the "Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures."⁴⁴

Governor Morris was not persuaded to meet the Indians at Easton until the last of July. Israel Pemberton declared that "all other arguments & considerations would have been insufficient to move him" had not General Abercrombie "sent him a few days before a warm injunction to manifest his zeal for the publick service."⁴⁵ His provoking inactivity was due to indisposition and to the fact that the Assembly had not appropriated sufficient funds for him to proceed to Easton with a sizable military escort. As it turned out, he had spent nearly all of the £300 on his guard by the time he reached Easton, meeting the Indians with less than £80 at his disposal.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, Israel Pemberton pushed preparations for Quaker participation in the pending conference with the Indians. Presents were purchased, and teams and wagons hired, loaded, and sent off to Easton. About thirty Quakers arrived for the conference on July 25, shortly after the arrival of Governor Morris and his attendants. Pemberton, accompanied by a number of Friends, went at once to offer his services to the Governor and indicated the Friends' desire to present the Indians with gifts at the close of the treaty.

It was at the Governor's quarters that Israel Pemberton first met Teedyuscung, who cordially greeted the Quakers, expressing great confidence in the followers of William Penn. Teedyuscung, who was born near Trenton, New Jersey, was a tall, rawboned Delaware of about fifty years of age. He was known to the Moravians as "Honest John" having been baptized by them and named "Brother Gideon."⁴⁷ "King Teedyuscung" as the Quakers called him, was a

⁴³ *Ibid.*, V, 11-12.

⁴⁴ Rumors of the great interest the Quakers were taking in restoring peace with the Indians spread swiftly through Pennsylvania. Edward Shippen at Lancaster declared that the Quakers "were using their utmost endeavors to raise £15,000, to be put out to interest for them forever." See T. W. Balch, ed., *Letters and Papers Relating Chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, 57.

⁴⁵ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 15.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ C. H. Sipe, *Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, 262.

haughty, proud braggart with a fondness for browbeating or intimidating less hearty souls. In liquor his conceit was as amazing as his thirst. It was said he could drink a gallon of rum without getting drunk.⁴⁸ It was known that he had led the attacks upon many of the frontier towns: in fact, the very skirts and shawls worn by the Delaware women, who accompanied their men, were made of tablecloths from plundered homes.⁴⁹ Before the Governor arrived, Teedyuscung had been very free with his talk, boasting to anyone who would listen about the number of scalps he had taken and his prowess in battle. On other occasions, he was heard to say that the Indians were now going to stand together and would join the English only upon their guarantee to respect the rights of the Indians.⁵⁰

A little later in the day, Israel and his friends called on Teedyuscung at his lodging. The Indian chief told the Quakers that Newcastle had acquainted him with all that the Quakers had done to restore peace. At this meeting the Indians and Quakers agreed to exert themselves to the fullest in the interest of peace, and Teedyuscung declared that the Indians would discuss issues and treat with the Governor only in the presence of Friends.⁵¹ Angered by the bold action of the Quakers, the Governor issued orders that no one but officials could visit or converse with the Indians. To enforce the order guards were stationed near the Indian lodgings. Nevertheless, it happened that in the evening Teedyuscung and a number of warriors came, apparently uninvited, to the inn where Israel Pemberton lodged, whereupon the latter took the opportunity to have his dusky friends of the forest dine with him.⁵²

The next day upon questioning the Indians, Governor Morris was told that all Delawares had agreed to have Israel Pemberton speak for them. To his anger and exasperation, the Indians would say no more, but advised him to seek the advice of their Quaker friend. Burning with indignation, Morris sent word to Pemberton and the Quakers that if they did not refrain from tampering with the Indians, he would treat them as enemies of the King. This

⁴⁸ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 69.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁵¹ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 18.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 18-19.

threat, apparently, alarmed the Quakers no more than his orders of the previous day.⁵³

The conference was opened on July 28, 1756. The Indians appeared well disposed, and hope of a firm peace and renewed ties with the Delawares rose among the Pennsylvanians. About forty Quakers were present, many of whom busied themselves taking notes of all that passed between Governor Morris and Teedyuscung.⁵⁴ After the Governor had welcomed the Indians with a great outpouring of platitudes, Teedyuscung arose to reply. The Chief recited the usual formalities and then produced the belt of wampum depicting the French and English disputing over the Indians' land, which had been given him by the Six Nations a few weeks before. Teedyuscung now asked that Pennsylvania demonstrate its sincerity and win the friendship of the Indians by guaranteeing that they would be despoiled of no more land.⁵⁵ This was more than Governor Morris was prepared for, but, as much as he desired to evade the demands, he dared not, and was compelled to take hold of the belt in Teedyuscung's hand and to agree to carry out in good faith the spirit of the Indian protocol.⁵⁶

That Governor Morris had little love and less patience for the Delawares was plain to the Quakers. They watched him with undisguised disapproval, and when he brought the conference to a speedy close instead of negotiating with Teedyuscung and confirming an immediate peace, they were loud in their criticism. His whole conduct they declared was one of "hasty and inconsiderate method" toward the Indians.⁵⁷ However, when Morris asked Teedyuscung to carry assurances of the peaceful intentions and friendship of Pennsylvania to all the Indians within reach and to return to Easton with more of his tribesmen and all of their prisoners two months later, there was more merit in the Governor's plan

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁵ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1754-1757, 97.

⁵⁶ Thomas, *op. cit.*, 96.

⁵⁷ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 21. Many of the English, especially the New Englanders, were very contemptuous in their conduct toward the Indians even when treating with them. In New England the Indians more often than not left the peace conference angry and disillusioned. On the other hand, New York, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina took great pains to please the Indians by observing every detail of Indian ritual. See H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, IV, 168-169.

than the Quakers could appreciate.⁵⁸ To the treaty in the fall, Morris said, the Six Nations would be invited. In this way Pennsylvania would be saved the possibility of offending the Iroquois by making a separate peace with the Delawares. At the same time the Six Nations would be present to answer Teedyuscung's claim of Delaware independency and for the belt of wampum which he had endeavored to make the basis of a permanent peace with Pennsylvania. Furthermore, they could then affirm or disavow Teedyuscung's claim to represent the Ten Nations (Six Nations and the four Delaware tribes) which, according to Teedyuscung, now had united to form a great union.⁵⁹ By asking the Six Nations to be present, Morris was but pursuing a cautious policy as well as following the traditional pattern in Indian relations. It should also have the effect of removing the Quakers from their assumed role of mediators at the next conference, a point of no small concern to both parties.

The conference closed on July 31, when Governor Morris distributed the presents to the Indians. The day before, Israel Pemberton had asked permission to allow the Quakers to present their gifts separately from the government's, but the request was refused.⁶⁰ The Quakers therefore were compelled to turn over their goods to the Governor with the understanding that he would mention their contribution when the gifts were presented. The Governor was anxious to have the Quaker goods (valued at £120) inasmuch as the Provincial gift was pitifully small.⁶¹ "I assure you," wrote Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, "if the Quakers had not been complying and added their large present to that provided by the Assembly, we should have been ruined, the Indians would have gone away dissatisfied, and matters infinitely worse."⁶²

Teedyuscung, the central figure of the conference, might present something of an enigma if it were not known that he was almost

⁵⁸ Pemberton Papers, XI, 98.

⁵⁹ *Colonial Records*, VII, 224.

⁶⁰ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 21-22.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 39. The Quaker and Provincial presents were mixed and not given separately, causing enemies of the Quakers to charge that they had given the Indians weapons and ammunition. The charge may well have been true, for failure to provide powder and lead out of consideration for their hunting needs would have angered the Indians and jeopardized the peace overtures.

⁶² Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 73.

constantly intoxicated.⁶³ His wild demeanor, his erratic and often contradictory statements, were for the most part but the ravings of a drunken man. When among the whites, Teedyuscung customarily was drunk or in the process of sobering in preparation for another assault upon the jug. While in this none too discriminating state of mind, he was bombarded with flattery, contradictory advice, and admonition from Provincial officials, Assemblymen, and Quakers. Only the day before the conference closed, Teedyuscung had rushed into the Governor's headquarters wildly demanding that every word spoken in council be taken down as stated.⁶⁴ Back of this outburst was Israel Pemberton or one of his followers who had found an opportunity to arouse the Indian's suspicions.

During the last few days of the conference, squaws were busy making strings and belts of wampum for Teedyuscung to send to all the ten tribes, inviting them to the great peace conference in the fall. After a sumptuous banquet attended by more than one hundred fifty persons including the Governor, Provincial officials, Indians, and Quakers, the conference broke up and Teedyuscung with his wild band left for their forest home. The Chief, however, chose to loiter about the frontier behaving in a manner that excited suspicion.⁶⁵ Rumors spread about Pennsylvania that the Indians were dissatisfied with their treatment at Easton, had burned their presents, and would presently fall upon the settlements.⁶⁶ About this time Johnson received word that many of the Susquehanna Indians were still actively hostile to the English, others disloyal and insincere, while a few perhaps would favor the English if they dared. Moreover, in August, Oswego fell to the French causing disaffection to spread among the wavering Onondagas and Oneidas.⁶⁷

Many believed peace had failed as the skies darkened and the frontier prepared for what might come. Benjamin Franklin was in this frame of mind. To Thomas Pownall he wrote:

. . . nothing is likely to come of the treaty. The Indians are preparing to continue the war, and we see of how little consequence Sir William

⁶³ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1754-1757, 97.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Colonial Records*, VII, 225.

⁶⁶ Smith MSS, V, 17.

⁶⁷ *Johnson Papers*, IX, 515.

Johnson's treaty has been in our behalf. For my own part, I make no doubt but the Six Nations have privily encouraged these Indians to fall upon us. . . . I do not believe we shall ever have a firm peace with the Indians till we have well drubbed them.⁶⁸

In September, Franklin had his wishes partially met when Colonel John Armstrong was sent against the Delaware and Shawnee stronghold on the Allegheny with three hundred and sixty proven Indian fighters. The expedition was a success: the Indians were met in battle, repulsed, and suffered their main town to be burned.⁶⁹ Without doubt, this incident had no little effect in restraining the Susquehanna Delawares, and causing them to keep their tryst in October with the Governor at Easton.

⁶⁸ *Franklin's Works*, III, 141-142.

⁶⁹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LI, 13; Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 85-86, 92.

CHAPTER VIII

THE POLITICAL ARENA OF

1756

THE failure of the Proprietary party to gain possession of the Pennsylvania Assembly by the October elections of 1755 in no way dampened the intense campaign they were waging in Pennsylvania and England to undermine the party led by Benjamin Franklin. Prominent members of the Proprietary party were James Hamilton, Benjamin Chew, Richard Peters, William Allen, and William Smith.¹ The latter, an Anglican minister, wrote a number of political pamphlets in which he unsparingly censured the Quaker Assembly. He recommended disqualifying Quakers for office, depriving the Germans of the suffrage unless they could speak English, banning German newspapers, and prohibiting German immigration.² The pamphlet war against the Quaker party centered in England where the scurrilous writings were widely read. Many members of Parliament were led to believe that the Quaker Assembly was characterized by meanness, sabotage and sedition, and that Quakers should, therefore, be disqualified from holding office in Pennsylvania.

Among the prominent London Quakers, Dr. John Fothergill, John Hunt, and Hinton Brown understood, as well as any, the increasing complexity of Pennsylvania politics. These men did their best to lessen popular prejudice against the Pennsylvania Quakers and to make innocuous the anti-Quaker propaganda. However, the refusal of Israel Pemberton and his friends to pay freely the direct tax seriously embarrassed the London Quakers by affording the Proprietary party with an argument extremely difficult to answer.

¹ The Reverend William Smith became provost of the College of Philadelphia. At this time his chief pamphlet was entitled *Brief State, etc.*

² T. F. Gordon, *A History of Pennsylvania from Its Discovery by Europeans to 1776*, 329.

Dr. John Fothergill fully realized that the leaders in the Pennsylvania Society of Friends no longer had a controlling influence in the Assembly, and that many of the laws passed by that body were anathema to them. But he realized, too, that few people in England distinguished between the Quaker Assembly and the Society of Friends, thus affording the Proprietary party an opportunity to make the most of affairs in Pennsylvania.³ In this way the Proprietary party represented Pennsylvania's tardy and feeble measures of defense during the past year as due solely to Quaker pacifism and in no way to the political struggle between the Assembly and the Proprietary agents.

Dr. Fothergill understood much sooner than Friends in Philadelphia how much Quaker interests were menaced and that, at last, the rival party was likely to get by indirection what it never had been able to achieve at the polls. In order to bring Philadelphia Friends to realize they were faced with imminent danger of becoming a cipher in the affairs of Pennsylvania, the London Quakers did not minimize the threat nor mince their words. They felt that the Pennsylvania Society must recognize the seriousness of the issue and take a realistic stand. Either the Society must support defense or insist that all members in good standing resign from the Assembly for the duration of the war. The position of the Society in Philadelphia no longer could remain equivocal and enigmatic. In conveying the force of the Proprietary case against the Quakers, Dr. Fothergill wrote:

The point upon which all rested, was you are unfit for government. You accept our publick trust, which at the same time you acknowledge you cannot discharge. You owe the people protection, & yet withhold them from protecting themselves. Will not all the blood that is spilt lye at your doors? and can we, say they, sit still and see the province in danger of being given up to a merciless enemy without endeavoring its rescue.⁴

In regard to the refusal of the strict Quakers in Pennsylvania to pay the direct tax levied for purposes of war, most London Quakers could not see the wisdom nor the necessity of assuming so radical a stand. In England, Quakers paid all taxes if for no other reason

³ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*

than that it was their duty to obey the laws of the realm. They did not feel responsible when the King used the money for war.⁵ A few London Quakers saw fit to defend the extreme pacifism of their American brethren, but most of them, overawed by the proximity of Crown authority, thought that the Pennsylvania Society should view the tax as a measure for the "relief of the distressed" people on the frontier.⁶

But Israel Pemberton refused to be turned by Friends in Britain or America from his stand against taxes levied for the prosecution of war. In May 1756, he told Dr. Fothergill that although some Friends thought of the tax as but "a common payment of tribute," many could not do so and

there's no doubt the sensible & impartial among our Brethren will in due time be convinced that a farther testimony than we have yet given will be necessary of our disunion with these and all such, as tho' they retain the profession have departed from the practice and principles of the Blessed truth, . . .⁷

Fothergill diplomatically refrained from outright criticism of the strict Quakers' stand, but he replied that he thought it might have been more prudent to have had the Meetings take action against the members of the Assembly who supported the tax. If this had been done, the act might not have been passed, and Quakers would have been saved from the charge of revolting against the laws of organized government.⁸ However, it will be recalled, Pemberton had tried this and failed. Later with the help of Samuel Fothergill, he won the Meeting over and caused circular letters to be sent out exhorting Friends to suffer distress rather than freely pay the tax.⁹

During the early months of 1756, scurrilous anti-Quaker pamphlets continued to be circulated widely in England, while newspapers carried columns condemning Pennsylvania Quakers in the strongest terms. Talk was heard in London that a bill would soon be prepared in the House of Commons for disqualifying Quakers from holding office in Pennsylvania, and London Friends realized

⁵ Smith MSS, V, 5.

⁶ Pemberton Papers, XI, 119.

⁷ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 16.

⁹ Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 43; Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VIII, 47.

that every effort must be extended if their brethren in America were not to have this humiliation forced upon them.¹⁰

But quite unknown to the London Quakers there were certain gentlemen high in the Ministry opposed to such drastic measures. Dr. Fothergill explained that:

A certain great person [Lord Granville] was pleased to exert himself in favor of Friends without being asked, and got this part struck out. He desired a few Friends to wait upon him, told them his sentiments frankly and advised that we should use our utmost endeavors to prevail upon Friends in Pennsylvania, not to accept seats in the House at this juncture . . . otherwise they would be totally incapacitated for ever.¹¹

The London Friends without hesitation approved the proposal and pledged themselves to obtain the coöperation of the Society in Pennsylvania in carrying out the agreement. Lord Granville, who was president of the Privy Council, then sought out Lord Halifax and other high ranking officials and obtained their support of the plan.¹²

Thereupon, London Friends turned their attention to the vital task of winning the support of Pennsylvania Quakers. In their letters to Israel and James Pemberton, they made no attempt to conceal the direful consequences of their refusal to coöperate in the matter.¹³ As Hinton Brown, London Quaker banker, told James Pemberton, the "honour and reputation" of the Society rested upon the fulfillment of this settlement which demanded the whole-hearted support of all Pennsylvania Quakers.¹⁴

Dr. John Fothergill explained to Israel Pemberton that it was expected Quakers would not become candidates for election to the Assembly in the fall, but would support moderate men who would meet the demands of Parliament and at the same time respect the charter liberties of Pennsylvania.¹⁵ Strict Quakers in Pennsylvania never doubted that they had but one choice in the matter. In May, the Yearly Meeting addressed a letter to John Hunt, Dr. Fothergill, and others, pledging that all possible care would be taken to have

¹⁰ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, IX, 50, 61.

¹¹ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 9.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 11.

¹³ Pemberton Papers, XI, 55.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 11.

Friends abstain from officeholding in time of war.¹⁶ Having in mind, however, the division which had arisen among the Pennsylvania Quakers, London Friends were far from confident that the Pembertons and their followers could control the situation. They therefore decided to send two Friends to help carry out the terms of the agreement as well as to labor with Quakers in Pennsylvania to accommodate their differences and reunite in the interest of the Society.¹⁷ Soon it became known that John Hunt and Christopher Wilson would make the trip to America.

Since the passage by the Assembly of the direct tax law, Israel Pemberton had behaved uncommonly friendly toward Governor Morris. His anger against the Assembly had not abated when, in the spring, the peace prospectus made him prone to cultivate further the good will of the Governor. During a long conversation with Governor Morris on Provincial affairs, Israel Pemberton and Samuel Fothergill expressed satisfaction with the Governor's refusal to give in to the Assembly. While the men were thus in conversation Franklin called on the Governor. The Quakers, thereupon, seized the opportunity to give him a lecture by attacking the Assembly with renewed vigor. Upon leaving, Israel declared that, if the Assembly would not vote Morris his arrears in salary, he would see to it that a subscription was raised among the Quakers and Mennonites to take care of it.¹⁸

Peters now confessed to Thomas Penn that he believed the strict Quakers' dislike of Franklin was so great that they might even be induced to join the Proprietary party. Already Franklin had gone so far as to push through the Assembly a bill making all men of age subject to military duty, commutable in a fine. The Governor vetoed the bill because it retained the selection of officers by the soldiers. Thus, for the time being at least, the Governor had become a bulwark for the pacifists against the military spirit. Said Peters:

It is a pity that Mr. Allen is in so bad an humor for I think with prudence and a decent and honorable coalition of his and the Quaker interests all Mr. Franklin's iniquitous schemes may be frustrated and I

¹⁶ Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, 5 mo., 21, 1756 (Friends' Book Store).

¹⁷ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 13.

¹⁸ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 56.

hope when Mr. Allen grows cool as he has an irreconcilable aversion to Mr. Franklin, he may be persuaded to try for the election of moderate and reputable members.¹⁹

But notwithstanding that the strict Quakers now had much in common with the Proprietary party, a coalition was highly improbable. There was really no more reason to think that Israel Pemberton could be brought to place any trust in William Allen, than that the latter could be induced to work with the Quakers. In fact Pemberton feared the military designs of Allen and Hamilton much more than those of Franklin. His present ostensible support of the Governor proceeded solely from a desire to embarrass Franklin and check his war policies. Unless Pemberton could have been assured that Quakers would be given a prominent place in Indian affairs, that guarantees would be made against passing laws offensive to the Society of Friends, and a retraction made of all charges against the Quakers, it is unlikely that he would have agreed to support the Proprietary party. All this was too much to be expected from the Proprietary men.

Meanwhile, it was announced in Philadelphia that Thomas Penn had accepted the advice of prominent members of the Privy Council and appointed Thomas Pownall to succeed Robert Hunter Morris as governor of Pennsylvania.²⁰ The latter had not ceased his endless bickering with the Assembly although the treasury was all but exhausted.²¹ Everyone in Pennsylvania seemed glad to hear that Morris was leaving, and even Peters admitted that he was a wretched failure as a governor.²² But it soon turned out that Pownall had declined the appointment when the Proprietors attempted to bind him to rigid instructions.²³ Israel Pemberton and Benjamin Franklin, who fully agreed on this matter, declared that Pownall was too honest a man to become a tool for the Proprietors.²⁴ In place of Pownall, the Proprietors were sending Colonel William Denny, a stranger to Pennsylvania, whom London Friends believed would endeavor to be impartial.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, VIII, 75.

²¹ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 39.

²² Richard Peters to John Wadell, August 23-26, 1756, Wharton Letter Book, 1752-1757 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

²³ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 13.

²⁴ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 76.

Following the suggestion of the London Quakers, six of the most orthodox Friends in the Assembly resigned their seats in June. The resignations came as a surprise to English Friends who had expected them to serve out their terms.²⁵ James Pemberton, foremost member of those who resigned, wrote Hinton Brown of London, that they had left the Assembly to convince Friends in England of their hearty desire to coöperate with them.²⁶ In reply, Brown stated that their resignation "is approved of by people of all persuasions here . . .," thus giving Pennsylvania Quakers the satisfaction of knowing that their sacrifices were not without immediate compensation.²⁷ Franklin was very glad to get rid of the strict Quakers. "All the stiff rump," he wrote, "except one that would be suspected of opposing the service from religious motives, have voluntarily quitted the Assembly; and 'tis proposed to chuse Churchman in their places. These changes in both branches promise us some fair weather which I have long sigh'd for."²⁸

The special election resulted in all good Franklin men being returned in the places of the strict Quakers.²⁹ The election left Peters disillusioned about the possibility of a Quaker coalition and convinced him that his and Israel Pemberton's definitions of moderation did not jibe. Writing to Thomas Penn he said:

There was no opposition and moderate Quakers had an opportunity of electing good & moderate members but they put up Roberdeau and Leech & would have interested themselves zealously had there been any danger of their losing it. That creature Israel Pemberton busying himself for Roberdeau with zeal, how consistent this is with the prepossessions of the good to ye Prop^{rs} I leave them to guess. . . .³⁰

After the Franklin party won the six seats left vacant by the retiring Quakers, the Proprietary party had little heart to meet the fall elections. In desperation the Proprietary leaders attempted to bargain with Franklin. James Hamilton, William Allen, and Benjamin Chew had two meetings with Franklin by which it was

²⁵ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 16.

²⁶ James Pemberton to Hinton Brown, June 14, 1756, Parrish, *Friendly Association*, *Sequel*: Pemberton Papers.

²⁷ Pemberton Papers, XI, 113.

²⁸ Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, June 15, 1756, University MSS (University of Pennsylvania).

²⁹ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 63.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 75-76.

agreed to put aside their differences in the face of war and to support a coalition ticket.³¹ The outcome of the decision it was generally admitted rested with the Quakers, for it lay in their power to elect or defeat the fusion ticket. Therefore all must await, said Peters, the determination of Friends at their Yearly Meeting at Burlington.³²

To the exasperation of the Proprietary party large numbers of Friends not only voted at the October election, but elected sixteen Quakers out of the thirty-six members in the legislature.³³ Peters now expressed his regret that John Hunt and Christopher Wilson, the London Friends, had not arrived earlier to restrain the Quakers, although he admitted they had done well after their arrival by persuading four to resign, thus reducing the number of Quakers in the Assembly to twelve. The election plainly showed that Israel Pemberton's party was unable to influence many Quakers to forego politics or did not care to do so. However, Pemberton gave Hunt and Wilson his fullest coöperation after they arrived. All the Quakers-elect were individually called before a committee of the newly created Meeting for Sufferings, but notwithstanding the most earnest solicitation, only four agreed to resign. Nevertheless, of the twelve professed Quakers remaining in the Assembly, only eight were persons of good standing in the Society of Friends.³⁴ The main result of the election was to strengthen Franklin's power over the Assembly. Furthermore, the kind of Churchmen the Quakers had elected, Peters said, were those whom they were certain would oppose the Proprietors. "In short," he concluded, "the Quakers will save themselves. . . ." ³⁵ Likewise, the elections satisfied the British government and nothing more was said about barring Quakers from office.

When a new governor arrived at an American colony, the occasion made a great stir among all the people. Politicians were especially alert and vied with one another in reaching him first to

³¹ *Ibid.*, 81-82, 91.

³² *Ibid.*; T. W. Balch, ed., *Letters and Papers Relating Chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, 64.

³³ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 94; Smith MSS, V, 20; Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 43; Weiser Correspondence, I, 88.

³⁴ Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 43; M. P. Wolff, *The Colonial Agency of Pennsylvania, 1712-1757*, 190.

³⁵ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 120.

make a good impression and establish themselves in his favor. Governor William Denny, the successor of Robert Hunter Morris, landed in New York in August and proceeded across New Jersey to Philadelphia. As soon as his whereabouts became known to Philadelphians, leading politicians hurried into New Jersey to meet him; and in this manner Israel Pemberton and other Quakers met the Governor at Prince's Town (Princeton) and dined with him. The next day Governor Denny, led by fife and drum and accompanied by a long procession of British regulars, Provincial militia, and prominent citizens, entered the city. They marched along streets lined by cheering throngs and ended at the State House, where addresses were delivered by persons representing the various churches and organizations of the city.

The Proprietary party felt confident that Governor Denny would favor it in the customary way, but, inasmuch as he had no enemies in Pennsylvania, it was generally believed he would get along much better with the people than had his predecessor. However, from the first the Franklin party made it known that no change could be expected in the policies of the Assembly and threatened that a tax on Proprietary estates would have to be allowed or no supplies would be voted, "let the consequences be never so fatal."³⁶

Soon the Assembly showed its bad manners by insisting upon seeing the Governor's instructions; and, when he weakened and complied, it framed a tax bill directly conflicting with them.³⁷ At this effrontery, Denny stiffened and threatened to have Franklin relieved of his office of postmaster general, if he did not desist in opposing imperial interests.³⁸ The reprimand may have caused Franklin to slow up a bit in his demands, for within a few days both parties receded from their extreme positions, and a supply bill through the issuance of bills of credit was voted.³⁹ Plainly Denny was much easier to manage than Morris had ever been, and by the end of the year few would doubt that Franklin would be

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

³⁷ Balch, *op. cit.*, 63.

³⁸ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 90. Franklin allowed nepotism to guide his appointments in the post office, having brothers, uncles, cousins, and a son in office from Boston to Philadelphia.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 91; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 23, 1756.

master of the situation in the future. Thus in the year when the Proprietary party made its supreme effort to smash the power of the Quakers and undermine the power of Franklin, it failed in both, leaving the latter stronger than before.

CHAPTER IX

TEEDYUSCUNG CHARGES THE PROPRIETORS OF FRAUD

BEFORE retiring from office Governor Morris sent Newcastle, the Delaware, to Sir William Johnson¹ with a report on the first conference with Teedyuscung at Easton. In his conversation with Johnson, Newcastle represented the peace work as largely resulting from Quaker endeavors, a version which Johnson believed had its origin among Friends who had apparently coached the messenger. Johnson considered the Quaker meddling in Indian affairs a flagrant intrusion on the prerogatives of government and an affront to his office of imperial superintendent for the northern Indians. Notwithstanding that Governor Denny was notified of Johnson's disapproval of the Quakers' activities by Lord Loudoun, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, Israel Pemberton seems to have cleared himself successfully in the eyes of the new governor. Sir William Johnson, however, if aware of the Quaker explanation, remained unconvinced and on September 8, 1756, wrote Lord Loudoun that he feared Governor Denny would be misled by those who "either think themselves more Masters of the Subject than they really are, and have possibly some favorite Schemes in view, neither reconciled to sound Policy nor these disinterested Principles which ought to regulate Indian Management at this Delicate Conjuncture."²

Notwithstanding Sir William Johnson had signified his willingness to allow Governor Denny to hold the fall conference with Teedyuscung, Lord Loudoun insisted that he should not confer with the Indians but turn over the whole business to Johnson.³ Here at least was one issue upon which all Pennsylvania could agree for no one wished to see the Province divested of all control

¹ Johnson's title was conferred for services against Crown Point, 1756.

² *Johnson Papers*, IX, 522-523, 526-527.

³ *Colonial Records*, VII, 270. George Croghan explained that Loudoun misunderstood Johnson. See Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 121.

over its Indians.⁴ Furthermore, it was reported that Teedyuscung already had collected his Indians and prisoners at Wyoming and was waiting for word to proceed to Easton; but at this juncture the Delawares forced the issue to a decision by appearing at Easton on October 29.⁵ The bewildered Denny was at a loss to know what to do. He sent to the Assembly for advice and called together his Council. Both bodies advised that, inasmuch as Pennsylvania had entered upon negotiations with Teedyuscung and a change in policy might be dangerous, the Governor should proceed with the treaty.⁶

Shortly before Teedyuscung arrived at Easton, Israel Pemberton called a meeting of the committee for the contributors to the peace fund. All agreed it was expedient for the public welfare for Friends to again attend the conference and contribute money, goods, and services. It was also agreed that a general meeting of all contributors should be called with the design of founding an association for promoting friendship with the Indians.

Israel Pemberton opened the meeting, which was held at the Great Meeting House and was well attended, with a narrative of the Quaker participation in the peace movement. He mentioned the difficulties Friends had met by the circulation of false rumors calculated to cast suspicion upon their motives. Notwithstanding all this, Pemberton declared that they must not abandon their efforts to restore peace but must resolutely carry on the good work regardless of opposition. So that Friends could exert their united efforts in the interest of peace, Pemberton asked that an association be formed immediately. As before, his proposals were received with instant and unanimous approval, and the committee was instructed by the contributors to draft rules for an association and present them at a general meeting on December 1.⁷

⁴ Weiser Correspondence, I, 85.

⁵ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 104.

⁶ *Colonial Records*, VII, 305.

⁷ Fragments of the original minutes of the Friendly Association are found in the Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers. Probably Samuel Parrish who wrote the *History of the Friendly Association* used these manuscripts. Judging from his book, however, he had in addition manuscripts that have been lost or destroyed, although Parrish lamented the fact that when he wrote most of the once voluminous manuscripts relating to the Association had been lost. It is possible, too, that some of the manuscripts which have since found their way into the Pennsylvania Historical Society were unknown to Parrish.

The next day the committee held a meeting at Israel Pemberton's house and agreed upon appropriating £500 for the purchase of clothing and other goods for the Indians at Easton. The term "goods," incidentally, included "liquors . . . which will be wanted at Easton."⁸ An address to the Governor requesting his permission to allow the Quakers to distribute the presents among the Indians was quickly drafted, and Pemberton, accompanied by four others, presented it to the Governor.⁹ The following day Governor Denny returned an answer signifying his willingness to grant the Quaker request.¹⁰

When the general meeting of contributors convened in December, a name for the association was adopted and sixteen trustees elected.¹¹ It then was decided that the Association would be called "The Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures." There was to be an annual election of officers in May and general meetings called before Indian conferences.¹² The Association now had a fund of £3,000, and subscriptions were being taken among the Schwenkfelder and Mennonite as well as Quaker communities.¹³

Israel Pemberton left Philadelphia with Charles Thomson for Easton on November 5, a few hours after Governor Denny had set out. Israel overtook the Governor the next day but, hearing that Teedyuscung was uneasy and the Indians likely to give trouble, he hurried on to Easton.¹⁴ He arrived at the Forks of the Delaware¹⁵ about noon on the seventh day. The Indians were pleased to see him again and Teedyuscung explained that they had not known what to believe regarding the new governor's intentions,

⁸ Papers of the Friendly Association, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 25.

¹¹ In 1757 New Jersey Quakers organized "The New Jersey Association for Helping the Indians," headed by John and Samuel Smith. The Association never became strong, having only about twenty members and a fund of a few hundred pounds. However, two thousand acres of land were purchased for the Indians but few availed themselves of the Quaker charity. See Haverford College MSS.

¹² Papers of the Friendly Association, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

¹³ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 19.

¹⁴ Israel Pemberton to Richard Denny, November 7, 1756, Autograph Collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

¹⁵ Easton is at the Forks of the Delaware—the junction of the Lehigh and Delaware rivers.

but now that Israel Pemberton had arrived they were satisfied.¹⁶ Perhaps Pemberton was justified in believing that the Indians would never have returned if it were not for the confidence they placed in the Quakers.¹⁷

The little frontier village of Easton was a place of excitement and hubbub during Indian conferences. Besides the Governor, his military escort, Council and Assemblymen, forty or fifty Quakers and others from Philadelphia, throngs of spectators from the countryside poured into the tiny village at the Forks of the Delaware.¹⁸

Richard Peters declared it was generally known that the Quakers had come to Easton with the set purpose of having Teedyuscung complain in council of Proprietary injustices to the Indians.¹⁹ This was impossible to prevent, he explained, notwithstanding the fact that Governor Denny had given strict orders against private persons conversing with the Indians. The latter were mostly those who formerly had lived in New Jersey, "and you know what sort of people these are," confided Peters to Penn. They came from Tioga where "all the riffraff from all parts are collected . . . and capable of doing a world of mischief. . . ." ²⁰ Regardless of what Peters thought of the Delawares, their leader, Teedyuscung, not only was becoming well known to Pennsylvanians but was also attaining a kind of respect among them. Even Conrad Weiser admitted "though he is a drunkard and a very irregular man, yet he is a man that can think well, and I believe him to be sincere in what he said." ²¹

Convinced that the Indians had been provoked by long standing grievances, Israel Pemberton came to the conference, as Peters said, determined to see that their claims were satisfied. In this he had the hearty support of Benjamin Franklin, who as one of the Indian commissioners for the Assembly now demanded that Teedyuscung be asked publicly to state the causes of the alienation of the Delawares. Against this, Richard Peters, the Proprietary secretary, passionately protested, but in vain, Governor Denny declaring he was

¹⁶ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 29.

¹⁷ Pemberton Papers, XI, 140.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 112.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 112-113.

²¹ C. Z. Weiser, *Life of Conrad Weiser*, 373.

determined to conduct a thorough inquiry into the causes of the Indian war. Peters was forced to agree to a general question with no mention made of the Proprietors, which prompted Israel Pemberton to write: "Surely, if he [Peters] was assured that justice had always been done them, this must be a fair opportunity of a public testimony of it, and the suspicions in the minds of many, be effectively removed." ²²

Meeting the Indians in Council, Governor Denny expressed his desire to hear any complaints the Delawares had to offer and to establish a permanent peace on a satisfactory adjustment of all legitimate claims.²³ The Indians were delighted with Denny's frankness and Israel Pemberton confessed: "I have not these many years been at a treaty, in which they have given such full & frequent expressions of approbation, as they now did, very heartily & unanimously uttering their 'ye ho' to the end of each sentence & on breaking up appeared quite cheerful & good humoured. . . ." ²⁴

After a consultation among themselves, Teedyuscung and his warriors met the Governor in Council the next day. Teedyuscung prefaced his reply by mentioning the fact that Governor Denny was unacquainted with the history of Pennsylvania and New Jersey; but, he went on to say, if the Governor wished to be apprised of Delaware grievances he had not far to go for an illustration. Teedyuscung then dramatically declared before the Council: "This very Ground, that is under me (striking it with his Foot) was my Land and Inheritance, and is taken from me, by Fraud; when I say this Ground, I mean all the land lying between Tohiccon Creek and Wyoming, on the River Susquehanna." ²⁵ Richard Peters was dumbfounded by the words of the chief: he threw down his pen refusing to write the charge into the minutes, but Charles Thomson, master of the Quaker Latin school, who had been asked by the Governor to assist the secretary, made fast every word.²⁶ Someone then called out that it was the Governor's dinner time, and Peters and other friends of the Proprietors took the cue and

²² Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 33.

²³ J. P. Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties*, 154.

²⁴ Pemberton Papers, XI, 137.

²⁵ Boyd, *op. cit.*, 157.

²⁶ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 34. Charles Thomson was a Scots-Irish Presbyterian from Londonderry.

hastily rose to depart, at which Israel Pemberton leaped to the Governor's side urging the importance of Teedyuscung's words and of going on with the meeting at this critical stage. The Governor agreed. Peters sullenly resumed his place and Teedyuscung continued.²⁷ The Delaware chief now admitted that French intrigue had caused the Susquehanna Indians to strike the English; but old grievances, he declared, had caused the blow to fall much harder.²⁸

Thus Israel Pemberton and Benjamin Franklin won a signal victory. The same night Pemberton and Franklin dined with the Governor. That Denny was convinced the Delaware alienation had proceeded from Proprietary injustices no one could deny.²⁹ In the evening Tetamie, an Indian interpreter, called on a gathering of Quakers and gave them an account of the Walking Purchase (the purchase which Teedyuscung had charged was a fraud), from the Delaware point of view.³⁰ From this time on, it was difficult indeed to find a Quaker who entertained any doubt about the cause of the Indian war. Many Quakers who previously had hesitated to join the Friendly Association now freely subscribed.³¹

Early the next morning Richard Peters sought out Abel James, the clerk for the Friendly Association, and asked to see his notes on Teedyuscung's charges of fraud. Peters was still very excited. Franklin was at the bottom of it all, he said, being intent on blackening the reputation of the Proprietors.³² But when pressed by James and others, Peters receded somewhat and admitted that the "Walk" could not be entirely defended, although the Proprietors were not to blame and in reality had paid for the land several times.³³ Peters had left Abel James but a short time when he returned more excited than ever and breathlessly shouted: "You [the Quakers] are putting things in the Indians' Heads."³⁴

²⁷ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 23.

²⁸ C. Thomson, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest*, 100; Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 113.

²⁹ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 34.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 34, 35.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

³² Thomson, *op. cit.*, MS 13 inserted in the copy in the Gilpin Collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

At the suggestion of Franklin and the Commissioners, Governor Denny decided to ask Teedyuscung what sum of money would be acceptable to the Delawares in retribution for all injuries done by the Province. Conrad Weiser conveyed the message but to the surprise of all, Teedyuscung replied that he was powerless to make a settlement because none of the Indians who formerly had lived upon the land in question were present at the conference. He would, however, bring them down to the next conference when a settlement could be reached.³⁵

No doubt Teedyuscung's answer was agreeable to Israel Pemberton who may have been consulted by the Chief before rendering a decision. Franklin, it would seem, was less interested in Indian complaints in themselves than in smearing the Proprietors, and a prompt settlement, in itself a virtual admission of guilt, would answer the purpose.³⁶ Israel Pemberton, on the other hand, wished to set on foot a general investigation of all Indian complaints upon which a program for a new deal to the Indians could be based. If it could be conclusively shown that the Delawares had been dispossessed of their land by fraud, then a plan which he had in mind to invest the Delawares with a large tract of land, would be materially advanced. At the present time, Israel lamented, "they have not an inch they can call their own."³⁷

Significant is the fact that when Teedyuscung refused to accept immediate satisfaction, he asked that the Quakers be allowed to examine records pertaining to the purchases in question.³⁸ No sooner were the Friends back in Philadelphia from the conference than a meeting was held by the Trustees of the Friendly Association at which Israel Pemberton was appointed to apply to the Master of the Rolls for permission to examine all deeds for land released by the Indians.³⁹

On the last day of the treaty Teedyuscung was promised a trading post at Shamokin. Israel Pemberton offered to give Teedyuscung several hundred pieces of eight toward the redemption of

³⁵ Boyd, *Indian Treaties*, 164; Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 38, 39.

³⁶ Richard Peters believed that Teedyuscung was sincere in refusing to take the money. See Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 115.

³⁷ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 19.

³⁸ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 38, 39.

³⁹ Papers of the Friendly Association, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

captives, but the offer was declined by the Governor on the advice of Conrad Weiser, who thought the matter might better be handled by the Mohawks.⁴⁰ Describing the parting of the Quakers from their Indian friends upon the close of the conference, Israel wrote:

to hear them [the Indians] confess to ye sufficiency of this divine principle with hearts & eyes overflowing with expression & tears of penitence & gratitude, & to see the old Barbarian King following us to ye water side and unable to show his affection but by floods of tears was [a] still more humbling scene.⁴¹

After the conference Conrad Weiser accompanied the Indians as far as Fort Allen. The Indians, he said, explained to him that they not only considered the Walking Purchase a fraud but also resented the sale by the Iroquois of their land north of the Blue Hills. They feared they would soon lose Wyoming either to Pennsylvania or Connecticut settlers and desired that a large tract of land in Wyoming be deeded outright to them.⁴² Weiser confessed to Peters that he felt the Province had been neglectful in not giving the Delawares some satisfaction for the lands north of the Blue Hills.⁴³ How much of all this was Teedyuscung's own or how much borrowed from the fertile brain of Israel Pemberton is hard to say, but the frequent conversations between the latter and the Chief can hardly be overlooked.

By the close of the conference, Governor Denny began to suspect that perhaps the Quakers and the Assemblymen had not played an entirely disinterested part at Easton. During the conference, Weiser had felt compelled to complain about Teedyuscung's going early in the morning to the house where some of the principal Quakers lodged, and Denny had found it necessary to reprimand John Hunt and Christopher Wilson, the London Friends, for their continual meddling with the Indians.⁴⁴

In a letter to Sir William Johnson, Governor Denny mentioned how paradoxical it seemed that the Delawares should now give land frauds as a cause of their disaffection, when in conversation with Johnson, and at Easton in July, they had given only the French in-

⁴⁰ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 39, 40.

⁴¹ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 19.

⁴² Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, II, 106; *Colonial Records*, VII, 431-432.

⁴³ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 114.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 116.

fluence as the cause.⁴⁵ In a letter to Thomas Penn, Richard Peters shrewdly pictured the strategy of the Quakers:

They do say, and will publish in England, and will assure the ministry, that the Delawares wou'd never have taken up the hatchet . . . if the Proprietaries had done them justice, that Mr. Penn [Thomas Penn] knew they complained of that scandalous walk and instead of pacifying them set their unkles the Six Nations against them and they have been at variance ever since. . . . [The Quakers] are twice as strong now as ever. They will plead the Indians and with zeal they will put arguments into their mouths & publish their speeches with their own corrupt glosses. . . .⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 114; *Colonial Records*, VII, 351-352.

⁴⁶ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 121.

CHAPTER X

CONFIRMATION OF PEACE WITH THE DELAWARES

RICHARD PETERS was right in judging that the Quakers had won a signal victory at Easton. George Croghan, erstwhile Pennsylvania fur trader, whose business had been ruined by the march of the French into the Ohio Valley, arrived in Philadelphia shortly after the Easton Conference in the capacity of special agent for Sir William Johnson. Johnson, Croghan said, favored peace overtures to the Ohio as well as to the Susquehanna Indians, in fact, Croghan possessed instructions to send out messengers inviting all Indians on the Pennsylvania frontier to make a general peace with the English.¹

Israel Pemberton lost no time in acquainting George Croghan with the aims of the Friendly Association and the state in which Indian affairs had been left by the late conference. At Pemberton's suggestion, Croghan signified his willingness to accept aid from the Association² and sent Governor Denny word that he believed the Delawares should be compensated without undue delay.³ Croghan also pleased the Quakers by readily agreeing that the manner of Proprietary purchases had helped to alienate the Indians. He admitted that he knew nothing about the "Walk" against which Teedyuscung had made his charge of fraud, but that he knew the Ohio Indians had vehemently denounced the Albany purchase of 1754.⁴

Early in January 1757 arrangements were made for sending messengers to the Indians on the Ohio. The Friendly Association supplied £200 to finance the undertaking.⁵ The messages were sent

¹ Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 45, 49; *Colonial Records*, VII, 354.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Colonial Records*, VII, 335.

⁴ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 119.

⁵ *Colonial Records*, VII, 382, 391; Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 127.

to the Western Indians in the name of Onas (the Indian name for the Proprietors), Sir William Johnson, and the Quakers, requesting them to send delegates to a general peace conference to be held at Easton early in the spring.⁶ Soon Governor Denny and George Croghan received definite instructions from Johnson to inquire into the complaint made by Teedyuscung. If the claim appeared to be well founded Johnson hoped that an immediate adjustment would be made as the basis for a lasting peace with the Delawares.⁷

Within less than a year, and largely through the efforts of Israel Pemberton, Quakers, it would seem, had successfully shifted the blame for the Indian war to Proprietary shoulders. In January, Peters admitted that even Lord Loudoun, commander-in-chief of the British army in America, had caught the fever of asking the Indians to state their grievances and promising redress for all legitimate claims.⁸ Not long after this Lord Loudoun confessed to Israel Pemberton that he had been mislead regarding Quaker aims and motives.⁹ Certainly fortune was smiling on the Quaker program and there was every reason to believe that if they could continue to play a skillful and vigorous hand they would regain much if not all of their former popularity.

The Proprietary watchdog, Richard Peters, however, remained confirmed in the belief that Israel Pemberton's chief object lay in shifting the blame for the Indian war from the Quakers to the Proprietors. Certain Indians, Peters explained to Thomas Penn, carry all sorts of tales to Israel Pemberton, "who swallows it all, as sacred, and claps it down among his anecdotes and hurries it [a]way to Dr. Fothergill by the first vessel, who also receives it as truth and by the weight of his character sanctifies all the legends of prating busy and ignorant Indians."¹⁰ In this way, he continued, they will "remove from their shoulders and from their own principles the most sad and calamitous situation of this Province."¹¹ To forward this, Peters went on to say:

⁶ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 55-57.

⁷ *Johnson Papers*, IX, 609.

⁸ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 128.

⁹ Papers of the Friendly Association, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers; Franklin Papers, XLVII, part 1, 10 (American Philosophical Society).

¹⁰ Peters' Letter Book, 1755-1757, 144.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Israel has formed an association of wealthy Quakers. . . . They have now set up and are mighty fond of the word mediation and say they never meddle with govern't nor govern't matters, but whatever is necessary to give a weight to their mediation they will do, and let me add, tho' it shou'd [be] never so clear an act of government, they publicly declare the[y] cannot trust the Proprietors nor their officers who to their knowledge have abused the Indians.¹²

Israel Pemberton, continued Peters, publicly avers the Indians "will do nothing without them," and the Governor "must have their assistance and take their advice or he will miscarry." ¹³ In fine, Peters concluded:

Israel Pemberton and the Association will mold, fashion, turn, twist, and manage matters at the ensuing treaty as they please. When they have made the Prop^{rs} as black as the enemy of mankind then they will officiously come with towels to wipe off the dirt they have thrown on them, then they will offer cash in aid of the poor Prop^{rs} and publish to the world the innocense and righteousness of their proceedings, their love of justice and their great regard for the Proprietaries.¹⁴

About this time Israel Pemberton expressed to Dr. Fothergill the satisfaction which Friends felt by so successfully dispelling "those unjust assertions they have cast upon us." Friends, he explained, "heartily wish for our Proprietarys' sake as well as our own their affairs were under the direction of persons of more understanding. . . ." ¹⁵ Indian affairs, especially, should be in the hands of Quakers, persons "of more understanding" for this delicate work.¹⁶ If Thomas Penn could have been brought to do this, he might well have gained the support of the Society of Friends against his implacable foe, Benjamin Franklin. Unlike the latter, Pemberton entertained no personal animosity toward the Penns of his generation, in fact, he seemed unable to resist a sentimental regard for the sons of William Penn.

Israel Pemberton further clarified his position regarding the Proprietaryship by stating his fears that, unless an accommodation

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, 144-145.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁵ Franklin Papers, XLVII, part 1, 10 (American Philosophical Society).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

was made of the issues between the Proprietors and the people, the party seeking a total abolition of the Proprietary government in Pennsylvania would gain its end.¹⁷ Only at one time in his life did Israel Pemberton succumb to the Franklin line of reason that the sooner the Proprietaryship was abolished the better. This was in July 1758, when he wrote to John Hunt that the whole conduct of the Proprietary agents seemed to be aimed "to injure & oppress us" and that there seemed to be no point in opposing any longer a change in the government.¹⁸ But Pemberton soon reverted to his former opinion that to remove the Proprietors from government would endanger the charter liberties of Pennsylvania. In 1764, when the movement to abolish the Proprietaryship reached ominous proportions, he became one of the most outspoken critics of the program.

On January 21, 1757, Israel Pemberton and William Callender addressed a letter to Richard Peters requesting permission to peruse the minutes of the Council "to satisfy ourselves and our Friends . . . of the state of the Indian claims on the lands in this province. . . ." ¹⁹ But Peters, protesting that the minutes contained important affairs of government of a secret nature, refused to open the books to the Quakers.²⁰ Unable to budge the redoubtable Peters, Pemberton appealed to the Assembly which obligingly resolved to have all the Indian treaties published in behalf of the public welfare; but again he met only with failure—the Assembly could not move the government to open the records.²¹

In April, George Croghan ran short of money in his preparations for the spring conference with the Indians, and Israel Pemberton gave him an additional loan of £150 from the funds of the Friendly Association. The organization now had spent approximately £1,000 in the interest of peace with the Delawares.²² At this time, Pemberton and others of the Friendly Association were busily engaged in preparing for the approaching Indian conference at Lan-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Israel Pemberton to John Hunt, July 25, 1758, Pemberton Papers, Box 3.

¹⁹ Papers of the Friendly Association, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Franklin Papers, XLVII, part 1, 9 (American Philosophical Society).

²¹ Papers of the Friendly Association, *loc. cit.*

²² Friendly Association, 1756-1758, Gratz Collection, Case 17, Box 7 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Papers of the Friendly Association, *loc. cit.*

caster.²³ The latter village was chosen instead of Easton in the hope that the western Indians could be induced to attend.

Toward the last of March, about one hundred and thirty Iroquois (men, women, and children) arrived at Lancaster. The Six Nation Indians had come at the suggestion of Sir William Johnson for the purpose of promoting the peace negotiations between Teedyuscung and the Pennsylvania officials. To the disappointment of all, Croghan received an evasive answer from the Delawares and Shawnees on the Ohio, declining to join the treaty.²⁴ Teedyuscung, on the other hand, was supposed to have gone into the Seneca country to bring down with his tribe some of the Senecas and Minisinks.²⁵ A month went by, but neither Teedyuscung nor his Delawares appeared; meanwhile the Iroquois began to get restless and uneasy. Old Scarroyady left on a scouting trip to the West, many of the Indians came down with smallpox, and the others prepared to go home to attend the spring planting.

Finally, Croghan received a message from Teedyuscung which left little doubt that the chief had no intention of coming to Lancaster. Instead, he offered a flimsy excuse about improper belts having been sent him and complained of the Delawares held at Bethlehem under Provincial guard.²⁶ Clearly Teedyuscung did not wish to repeat his complaints and accusations before a large body of Iroquois in which the Mohawks predominated. The Delawares, Israel Pemberton explained, were "particularly jealous of those Mohawks under ye immediate influence of Sir Wm. Johnson & as they have been sev'l [several] times bro't [brought] into this govern't to chastise & oppress them, they were determined not to give them another opportunity of doing it."²⁷

Not until the tenth of May did Governor Denny arrive at Lancaster with members of his Council and various members of the

²³ Papers of the Friendly Association, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ C. Thomson, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest*, 105-106.

²⁵ *Johnson Papers*, IX, 728. The Minisinks, also known as the Munseys or Minsis, were the wolf clan of the Delawares, who then lived in the wilderness between the West Branch of the Susquehanna and the Chemung rivers and were largely under the influence of the Senecas. They were the most warlike of the Delaware clans.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, IX, 741.

²⁷ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 25.

Assembly, together with many Quakers including Israel and James Pemberton. Governor Denny opened the conference by narrating the progress made toward a peace with the Delawares and the reasons presented by Teedyuscung for their alienation. In their reply the Iroquois declared that they were pleased to know that Pennsylvania had discovered the cause of the disaffection and that they hoped a peace would speedily be made with the Delawares.²⁸ To do this effectively, they advised that every effort be made to induce the Senecas and Minisinks to join Teedyuscung in a treaty. "When they come," warned the Mohawks, "be very careful in your Proceedings with them, and do not be rash, and it will be in y^r [your] Power to settle all the Differences subsisting between you and them."²⁹ As Israel Pemberton put it, the Seneca "door" must be opened if Pennsylvania were to make a sound and lasting peace.³⁰

While the conference was in session at Lancaster, French Indians from the Ohio entered the Susquehanna Valley burning and scalping as they came. Three victims were brought to town in a wagon in the hope of arousing the eastern gentlemen to the necessity of more effective measures of defense. The frontier people were madened by the sight of the bodies. Charles Thomson wrote:

The people gathered about them, & wanted the G [Governor] to come & look at them. He, I suppose, saw no great reason to indulge his curiosity or was not willing to be so soon disturbed, & therefore did not make his appearance so soon as they would have; whereupon some of the more clamorous talked publickly of dragging him out & shooting both him & the Commiss^{rs} by the corpses. In short it was thought that nothing but Col. Stanwix's regulars, the last division of wch came into Town that morning prevented them from proceeding to some extremeties.³¹

For the first time in his life Israel Pemberton was brought face to face with the horrors of frontier warfare. He was disgusted with the pusillanimous Denny who would not send a single soldier of his guard of nearly five hundred men to drive away the Indians bringing death and destruction within twenty-five miles of Lan-

²⁸ Etting Collection: Miscellaneous, I, 89; *Johnson Papers*, IX, 747.

²⁹ *Colonial Records*, VII, 522.

³⁰ Pemberton Papers, XII, 23.

³¹ Franklin Papers, XLVIII, part 2, 120 (American Philosophical Society).

caster.³² Whether Pemberton realized it or not, what he had seen converted him for the time at least into a defense Quaker. Happier would have been the history of Pennsylvania in this period, it would seem, had the Quakers occupied the frontier regions. No doubt all Friends soon would have acknowledged a defense policy inescapable, and perhaps they might have contributed a more sound Indian policy based upon stark realism, but retaining a solvent of fairness and regard for the rights of the Indians.

It was apparent little could be accomplished toward peace until Teedyuscung and his Delawares could be led to resume negotiations with the Province. Governor Denny was not unwilling to meet Teedyuscung again but he balked at undertaking to treat with the Senecas and Minisinks without Johnson's consent, notwithstanding Croghan was Johnson's agent and had power to sanction the proceedings.³³ Finally, after Colonel Stanwix and many others had assured him that neither Johnson nor Loudoun would disapprove of his acting upon the advice of the Iroquois, Denny yielded. Proper messages were quickly prepared for Teedyuscung, the Senecas, and the Minisinks and dispatched from Lancaster with the returning Iroquois after they had received the customary presents in the name of the Province and the Association.³⁴ The proceedings of the Lancaster conference met the approval of Sir William Johnson who steadfastly supported a peace policy under government auspices.³⁵

On July 5, Israel Pemberton informed the trustees of the Friendly Association that Teedyuscung and his warriors were expected to arrive at Easton in about a week. As usual the trustees chose Pemberton to head a committee for the purpose of preparing for the treaty.³⁶ The latter soon sought out Governor Denny but, to his surprise and disappointment, he found the Governor no longer willing to accept Quaker aid nor countenance their participation at Indian treaties. Denny had received a sharp note from Lord Loudoun stating that the Earl of Halifax was greatly displeased with the Quaker interference in the affairs of government

³² Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 23.

³³ *Colonial Records*, VII, 527.

³⁴ *Johnson Papers*, IX, 762-763, 765.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, 786.

³⁶ Papers of the Friendly Association, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

and considered their actions "the highest invasion of his Majesty's prerogative royal. . . ." ³⁷

Israel Pemberton's anger must have been great as he listened to the Governor for, without a moment's hesitation, he gave him to understand that the Quakers would not suffer themselves to be excluded from the treaty. As Israel related it to Dr. Fothergill, the Governor was told that "we could give him no expectation of following his advice, but rather expected & desired to see a greater number of our Friends there than ever, as we apprehended our liberties, properties & even our lives nearly interested in ye event of it, that all treaties formerly had been public . . . ," and all freemen had the right "to travel the King's roads & attend his courts. . . ." ³⁸ As a formal protest Pemberton wrote a lengthy address to the Governor narrating the whole story of Quaker interest and participation in the peace movement from its conception in the spring of 1756. ³⁹ The narrative was a thinly disguised piece of propaganda intended to be printed and circulated in an effort to embarrass the Governor and tie his hands against any move to hinder the Quakers.

At noon, July 15, Denny sent Pemberton a note admonishing him once more to decline attending the treaty, inasmuch as Quakers had "given great offence to the Ministry." ⁴⁰ Pemberton's reply was to ask Denny for permission to print part of Lord Halifax's letter along with the address lately presented him. His Lordship's letter had referred to the Indians as "foreign princes & an independent people . . . ," a statement which Pemberton planned to use to advantage. ⁴¹ The distracted Governor replied two hours later without mention of the Halifax note but entreating Pemberton not to publish the address until after the treaty for fear of inflaming the minds of the Indians and obstructing the business of the treaty. ⁴² Clearly Pemberton had won again and could feel assured that Quakers would not be molested by Pennsylvania's weak

³⁷ *Ibid.* Denny had written to the Proprietors in April that he saw no reason why Quakers any more than Episcopalians, Dissenters, or other religious societies should be favored with a place in Provincial affairs. Provincial Papers, XXII, 19 (State Archives, Harrisburg).

³⁸ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 25.

³⁹ Address to Governor Denny, August 1757, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

and effete Governor. The Association promised to defer publishing the address, and no more was said about the Quakers remaining away from the conference.⁴³

Teedyuscung arrived at Easton with a large band consisting of about fifty-eight warriors, thirty-seven women, and sixty-four children. It may not have been safe to leave their dependents behind, but the fact remains, that if they came along they would be fed and clothed and the presents proportionately greater. The Delawares were accompanied by upward of one hundred twenty Senecas—men, women, and children.⁴⁴ Teedyuscung remained quite sober until the Philadelphians arrived, and Weiser marveled at the forbearance of the Indians in the face of insults and mistreatment by the crude, common people who swarmed into Easton.⁴⁵ Weiser was so pleased with the prospect that he was prompted to confide in the Governor his belief that the Indians sincerely desired to make a lasting peace. Governor Denny arrived about the twentieth of July, having cowardly refused to stir until he was assured of a heavy guard.⁴⁶ Israel Pemberton arrived about the same time, and as usual was welcomed heartily by Teedyuscung.

Soon after Pemberton and his Quakers arrived, Teedyuscung came to the Indian Commissioners of the Assembly and demanded that he be given a clerk to take minutes for him at the council. The Chief insisted that the idea was his own, a statement supported by other Delawares who declared they had decided to demand a clerk before leaving Tioga.⁴⁷ Neither Peters nor Croghan (the latter having become convinced that the motives of the Quakers were not so pure as he at first believed) attempted to disguise his displeasure over the Indian request. After talking over the matter with his Council, Denny informed Teedyuscung that it had always been the custom for the Governor to appoint a clerk and give the Indians a copy of the minutes.⁴⁸ The Indians seemed satisfied with this reply until Teedyuscung appeared at Peters' lodging the next morning accompanied by four of the Commissioners, one of whom

⁴³ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 75-76.

⁴⁴ *Colonial Records*, VII, 649.

⁴⁵ Weiser, *Life of Conrad Weiser*, 236.

⁴⁶ Peters MSS, IV, 99.

⁴⁷ Pemberton Papers, XII, 46; Thomson, *op. cit.*, 110-112.

⁴⁸ Thomson, *op. cit.*, 111.

read to Peters a resolution stating that Teedyuscung should be allowed a clerk. The Commissioners explained that Teedyuscung was threatening to break up the conference and go home if his request was not granted.⁴⁹ There was no doubt in the minds of Governor Denny and the members of the Provincial Council that Teedyuscung was being worked upon by someone.⁵⁰

Conrad Weiser was quite certain that Teedyuscung's demand for a clerk was traceable to Israel Pemberton. The evening before, when the Indians seemed to be satisfied with the Governor's reply, Pemberton had been about town looking for Teedyuscung, whom he found in a room with some others next to the one Weiser occupied. The Chief left with Israel and after being gone for some time returned. Teedyuscung was silent for a few moments and then addressed Weiser in "an abrupt and rough manner, complaining that he had not been well used by the Governor in the business of the clerk."⁵¹ Hearing the turn affairs had taken, George Croghan sought out the Chief and insisted upon knowing who had set him up to change his mind. But Teedyuscung was not to be so easily cornered and, cutting Croghan short by pulling out a string of wampum and handing it to him, he categorically stated that he would have a clerk or go home.⁵² The officials conducting the treaty were now forced to admit that Teedyuscung's demand would have to be granted, Croghan declaring that he never had heard of such a brazen disregard for the King's prerogatives, which, however, in the interest of peace would have to be overlooked.⁵³ At the opening of the next meeting Teedyuscung arose and asked Charles Thomson, the master of the Quaker school, to be his clerk. Thomson accepted and quietly seated himself beside the official clerk, while the Governor proceeded with the business of the council.⁵⁴

Peters and Croghan now adopted the strategy of keeping Teedyuscung drunk in the hope of drawing him into a trap during the proceedings in council.⁵⁵ In this condition Croghan cleverly had

⁴⁹ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 19.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁵ Thomson, *op. cit.*, 114; Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 27.

Teedyuscung state his charges and define the boundaries to his claims and then, next day, asked him to repeat his claim, precisely as stated before. To the surprise of everyone Teedyuscung rose to the occasion and, though laboring under a mind beclouded and disarranged by great quantities of liquor, managed to repeat his claims with a fair degree of logic and consistency.⁵⁶ Thus far all Israel Pemberton's endeavors to keep Teedyuscung sober had been thwarted by his opponents. Finally, he was obliged to threaten to abandon Teedyuscung altogether if he did not stay sober for the meetings, a threat which seemed to have produced some results.⁵⁷

The erratic and undependable Denny kept all guessing—his Council, the Assembly, and Quakers alike—as to what he might do next. To the exasperation of Peters and Croghan, he now asked Teedyuscung to submit a clear and detailed statement of his claims and charges. This was the opportunity for which Israel Pemberton was waiting, and soon the Governor was presented with a statement written by Charles Thomson and signed by Teedyuscung. From beginning to end the paper represented a first-class Pemberton document. The Proprietary party was astounded at its contents which, in addition to charging the Proprietors with fraud in the Walking Purchase, laid a claim to alleged Delaware lands sold by the Six Nations. "I therefore now desire that you will produce the writings and deeds by which you hold the land, and let them be read in publick and examined," Teedyuscung was represented as saying. The report maintained that this evidence should then "be laid before King George and published to all the Province under his Government."⁵⁸

After making it clear that the Indians expected to receive satisfaction for all their just claims, Teedyuscung was reputed in the report to have decided that the Delawares would settle permanently at Wyoming:

We intend to settle at Wyoming and we want to have certain boundaries fixed between you and us, and a certain tract of land fixed which it shall not be lawful for us or our children ever to sell, nor for you or any of your children ever to buy, . . . and as we intend to make a settlement at Wyoming and to build different houses from what we

⁵⁶ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 77.

⁵⁷ Pemberton Papers, XII, 44.

⁵⁸ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 21.

have done heretofore, such as may last not only for a little time but for our children after us, we desire you will assist us in making our settlements and send us persons to instruct us in building houses . . . , and that persons be sent to instruct us in the Christian religion, which may be for our future welfare, and to instruct our children in reading and writing, and that a fair trade be established between us. . . .⁵⁹

Conrad Weiser declared these requests "could never be the true sentiments of the Indians, Teedyuscung having, not only at Fort Allen . . . but again since his coming to this treaty, told him that they did not want to continue the dispute about the lands." The Indians, he said, wished only to have a country assigned them to live in, which they could call their own.⁶⁰ Croghan now insisted he had no right to go ahead with a complete settlement of the Delaware question, having been commissioned simply to hold an inquiry and to place the facts before Johnson for a decision from him. This, of course, pleased Richard Peters (if it were not the result of a mutual understanding between them), who averred that any other procedure would not be approved by the Proprietors.⁶¹ Teedyuscung, however, flatly refused to have Johnson adjudicate the claims, fearing the influence of the Mohawks with that gentleman would prejudice the Delaware case. Instead of taking the dispute to Sir William Johnson, Teedyuscung again requested that all the original deeds and papers be produced and copies of them sent to the King of England for his adjudication of the case.⁶²

The next day Governor Denny met his Council to decide upon what answer should be given Teedyuscung. When it was suggested that there seemed to be no alternative but to follow wherever the Teedyuscung-Pemberton brotherhood led them, Peters became adamant and insisted that the Proprietary deeds constituted a private trust given him with the understanding that they would not be shown at any public treaty but turned over to Sir William Johnson at the proper time.⁶³ Notwithstanding Secretary Peters' violent opposition, William Logan, the Quaker member of the Council, held firmly to the opinion that all the deeds should be produced and

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Colonial Records*, VII, 655; J. P. Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties*, 199; Thomson, *op. cit.*, 17-20.

⁶² Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 78.

⁶³ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 22.

shown to the Indians. The Governor and most of the Council soon agreed with Logan that to refuse would more than likely infuriate the Indians, cause the Treaty to be disrupted, and reconvert the Delawares into active enemies of the Province. Weiser and Croghan, likewise, agreed that there was no alternative but to give Teedyuscung the satisfaction of inspecting the deeds and knowing the case would be sent to the Ministry. All agreed, therefore, except Peters, that five deeds should be exhibited presently in Council; thus Israel Pemberton and the Assembly succeeded in attaining by indirection what they had failed to do otherwise.⁶⁴ By the threat of the direst consequences to the Province, Pemberton forced Peters to reveal the deeds which for nearly a year he had doggedly refused to show.

The next day Croghan asked Teedyuscung if he would consent to confirm the long suspended peace with Pennsylvania upon presentation of those deeds which had been brought from Philadelphia. Some of the deeds, Croghan explained, seemed unrelated to the claims in question and consequently had been left in the city. Teedyuscung agreed to these terms. But the Proprietary party had decided to make a final attempt to stall the Quakers, and the rest of the day saw a series of fast plays made to undermine and destroy the Quaker hold upon the Delawares. Croghan, it seems, got Teedyuscung very drunk while parleying with the Indians and then attempted to destroy the Chief's power by raising dissension and disagreement among them. Before long many of the Indians were complaining that they had come to Easton to make peace and not to quarrel about land. Perhaps the Quakers could yet be foiled and the deeds not shown! Croghan's scheme seemed to be working splendidly when a number of Delawares requested Governor Denny to postpone the meeting because Teedyuscung was not in a condition for business. But Israel Pemberton was as determined to get a look at the deeds as Croghan was determined he should not. Soon after Denny called off the meeting, Charles Thomson brought him word that the Indians were very angry at being put off and that Teedyuscung was no more intoxicated than usual.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶⁵ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 27; Pemberton Papers, XII, 55; Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 22; Provincial Papers, XXIII, 65 (Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg).

No doubt few of the Indians favored delay, although one may well believe that the responsibility for the passion which now seized the Indians rested with the Quakers. To the astonishment of the latter and the intense fright of the Governor and the Council, the spark which the Quakers had fanned inflamed the Indians to the extent that many thought all was lost and the conference momentarily about to be converted into an Indian massacre. The Friends now worked frantically to quiet the Indians. James Pemberton, who apparently was not privy to all that passed between Israel and the Indians, wrote the following account to his wife:

The Case as far as I can learn was this, the Governor had appointed to meet them at 5 o'clock & when the time came put it off & the Indians enquiring into the cause found it was alledged the King & all were drunk tho' I am told he was less so than he hath been at many times. They were so enraged at the disappointment & the frequent delays of business of which they had often complained to the Governor that they loaded their guns & began to collect with a design to frighten or really do mischief & some here think it would have been the case if some of the Commissioners & friends had not interposed. The Governor and some of the Council showed the greatest signs of terror & amasement. B. Chew it is said went about wringing his hands & crying for mercy & help like a child & James Hamilton was in danger.⁶⁶

In fact Teedyuscung's son had leveled his gun at Hamilton but had it yanked from his hands by an alert individual. The Indians refused to put up their guns until the Quakers interceded, when "they immediately submitted & deliver'd up their arms as readily & submissively as common Soldiers wou'd to their officers."⁶⁷

After this incident neither Governor Denny nor his Council entertained any desire to prolong the conference, and in the morning Denny called all to meet together without delay. The meeting was opened and the deeds brought forth and placed upon the table, whereupon Governor Denny asked Teedyuscung to declare that the Delawares were satisfied that justice would be done them and to proclaim peace between the Delawares and the Province of Pennsylvania. Teedyuscung's Quaker counsellors whispered words of caution or delay, while the big Indian slowly rose to answer the

⁶⁶ Pemberton Papers, XII, 55. The next day James wrote his wife Hannah that the reports about Chew's excessive fear may have been exaggerated.

⁶⁷ *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, III, 275.

Governor. Teedyuscung could act well when the occasion demanded, and he now uttered words signifying that he did not understand the full meaning of the Governor's speech. Clearly Israel Pemberton and his friends wanted no peace made before they had a chance to examine the deeds on the table.

But the mounting mutterings and menacing looks among the Indians, now thoroughly tired of delay, convinced Teedyuscung that further delay was impossible. In a manner dramatic as momentous, Teedyuscung now called for the peace belts. The faces of the Delawares at once assumed less ominous expressions; the members of the Proprietary party looked relieved; but the Quakers were conspicuously ill at ease.⁶⁸ The peace belts were brought into the council ring, formally exchanged with solemn pledges of a lasting peace, and the Indians of the Susquehanna Valley were no longer at war with the English. James Pemberton attributed the peace to "Providential interposition which baffled the wickedness of our deluded rulers."⁶⁹

After peace was made, the deeds were turned over to Charles Thomson, who made copies as agreed upon in conference. He found that one important deed, that of 1718, was missing although a copy of the original was presently produced. The copy may or may not have been an exact one but, in any event, it contained some blank spaces which gave the Quakers ample excuse for charging the Proprietary agents with duplicity.⁷⁰ As might be expected, the boundaries contained in the deeds were too indefinite and unintelligible to a later generation to have much meaning. Sensing the flimsiness of the Indian case based upon these deeds, the resourceful Quakers now requested that copies of all Proprietary correspondence regarding the deeds be supplied in order to aid His Majesty in making a just settlement. But again Peters flatly refused to comply, and further efforts on the part of Friends to supplement the evidence from Proprietary records seemed futile.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 23.

⁶⁹ Pemberton Papers, XII, 55. Teedyuscung is said to have asked the Governor to give his Indians a reward for scalps but the Pennsylvania officials declined for fear they might be paying for their own. See H. Jenkins, *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal*, I, 480.

⁷⁰ Thomson, *op. cit.*, 119-121.

⁷¹ Letters of Charles Thomson, Case 14, Box 3, A.L.S. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania); Thomson, *op. cit.*, letter inserted with the copy in the Gilpin Collection (H.S.P.).

Notwithstanding the emptiness of the deeds for a case against the Proprietors, Israel Pemberton was far from convinced that he had been mistaken in believing the Proprietors had wronged the Indians. Immediately upon the close of the conference, he set about collecting depositions from men who had in any way been connected with the Walking Purchase. The evidence which he accumulated confirmed his belief that he had made no mistake in thinking the Delawares had been defrauded.⁷² On the other hand, although he searched patiently and diligently month after month for evidence, he failed to find a letter or document written at the time of the "Walk," which would clinch the case. Not until the question was permanently closed by the Treaty of 1762 did Pemberton abandon his search for evidence.

Israel Pemberton believed his program of friendship and assistance for the Indians was needed quite as much in other colonies as in Pennsylvania. His attention was called to the plight of Friends in western Virginia where, although no Quakers had met death at the hands of the savages, great fear prevailed among all people. A committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, headed by Pemberton, wrote to their brethren of frontier Virginia:

The consideration of Land you live upon having been settled before it was purchased of the Indians has long been a painful subject to many minds, we are desirous of knowing whether there is cause to believe that any Indians still have claims to any of those lands & desire you may seriously consider whether it is safe or prudent to remain in the possession of lands not fairly purchased of those who had a native right in it, . . .⁷³

Sentiment in America again had radically changed regarding the motives for the Quaker interest in Indian affairs. Six months previous to September 1757, Lord Loudoun and George Croghan had given Quaker overtures a most cordial and friendly acceptance. Even Johnson reserved for a time his censorship of the Quakers although he never approved the interference by private persons in

⁷² Etting Collection: Miscellaneous Papers, I, 90; Pemberton Papers, XII, 55.

⁷³ Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, 101-103. Thomas Chalkley, a Quaker preacher, as early as 1738 urged the Friends of the Hopewell Meeting, Virginia, to purchase their lands from the Indians. The question was kept alive for fifty years, when finally in 1794, finding no better claimants for the Virginia lands, Philadelphia Friends turned over the appropriated funds to the Tuscarora Indians of New York. See W. R. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917*, 51.

matters of state. Now in September, Johnson wrote Loudoun that reports from Croghan had convinced him that unless the Quakers were restrained they would "throw all Indian Politicks into Confusion and perhaps into a flame which may not be easily quenched."⁷⁴ Writing to Governor Denny, Johnson confessed he was at a loss to know what to do about the Delaware claims. Now that the Indians publicly had objected to his mediation, he feared upsetting the delicate peace by attempting to assume jurisdiction over the case. The Quakers had succeeded in placing them all in such a position that their hands were so effectively tied that he could not "think of any advisable method to extricate matters from that perplexity into which these intriguing spirits have thrown them, . . ."⁷⁵ It was plain to Johnson "that the Quakers were aiming to engross to themselves the exclusive attachment and management of the Indians."⁷⁶ Contemporaries may not have fully understood Quaker motives but they manifestly understood their aspirations. Thomas Penn voiced the fears of many when he spoke of the Quakers

raising in the minds of the Indians all the doubts they can about the Indian deeds & beginning an examination which will run through the Colonys, & the validity of the Indian deeds from the first settlement of the several Colonys—this must produce a general Indian War, or at least a dissatisfaction that will break out the first fair opportunity.⁷⁷

Continuing, Penn observed that "What you [Peters] say is too true that you were holding a treaty with the Quakers and the Assembly, not [with] the Indians."⁷⁸

The Pennsylvania Assembly acted promptly on the Easton treaty. A sum of money was appropriated for the building of cabins and a stockade for the Delawares at Wyoming. And in October, John Hughes, a member of the Assembly, accompanied by carpenters and a militia escort proceeded to the Wyoming Valley where several buildings soon were in the process of erection.⁷⁹ Before the work

⁷⁴ *Johnson Papers*, IX, 827. See *Provincial Papers*, XXIV, 74.

⁷⁵ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 25.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Peters MSS, IV, 122.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 82; T. W. Balch, *Letters and Papers Relating Chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, 98-99. As was the case the follow-

was completed, however, winter set in and the party was forced to return. Fearing that the resumption of the work might not be undertaken soon enough by the Assembly, the Friendly Association, in December, named Israel Pemberton to head a committee to persuade the Assembly to act upon the project at the earliest opportunity. Pemberton believed that the success of the peace hinged upon the dispatch with which Pennsylvania fulfilled the terms of the treaty: the Delawares wished to occupy their new homes in the spring, plant their corn and settle down.⁸⁰

ing spring, Quakers were conspicuous by their absence among those who went to Wyoming. Edward Shippen and the Reverend Charles Beatty, Presbyterians, were prominent among those who accompanied Hughes. See Jenkins, *op. cit.*, I, 480.

⁸⁰ Papers of the Friendly Association, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

CHAPTER XI

EFFORTS TO WIDEN PEACE WITH THE INDIANS

THE success of the peace overtures with the Susquehanna Indians convinced Israel Pemberton that the next move should be to extend the boundaries of peace to include the Ohio and Seneca Indians. Some of the latter, it is true, had accompanied Teedyuscung to the last treaty but apparently these were but his neighbors of the Chemung Valley, who had taken little part in the conference and in no way represented the Seneca tribe as a whole. Since the last treaty, Teedyuscung had sent his son to the Allegheny with a peace belt and had received an encouraging reply, but, as Israel Pemberton explained "these people are all dependent on ye Senekas, who have been now long kept in expectation of hearing from us, all our further proceedings depend on the measures taken with them."¹

Early in March 1758, Teedyuscung came to Philadelphia to see what the Province intended to do toward fulfilling the terms of the treaty as well as to offer further services in the interest of peace with the western Indians. But again he positively refused to treat with the Governor unless his clerk, Charles Thomson, was present and finally, by way of compromise, a public meeting was agreed upon.² The public conference, which in itself constituted a Quaker achievement, opened on March 15 when Teedyuscung declared the western Indians had signified their desire to make peace with Pennsylvania, a statement apparently without foundation, but which he and his Quaker advisers determined to exploit to the fullest. The far Indians, Teedyuscung said, "waited for nothing but the faithful performance of the articles of peace, stipulated on

¹ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 30.

² *Colonial Records*, VIII, 30-31; Franklin Papers, XLVII, part 2, 122 (American Philosophical Society).

your part at the Treaty held at Easton, to join heartily in the British interest.”³ The Assembly reinforced Teedyuscung’s words by insisting that Pennsylvania could not afford to neglect a possibility of winning over the western Indians at a time when General Forbes was about to make a supreme effort to dislodge the French from the Ohio.⁴

A few days later, Governor Denny publicly thanked Teedyuscung for his efforts to win over the Ohio Indians and promised to fulfill the articles of peace. Teedyuscung then specified that the Delawares desired Pennsylvania to send to live among them two Christian ministers, two schoolmasters, and two counsellors, the selection of which should be made by the Indians. This, of course, meant that Quakers would do the choosing. The petition in written form and in the letter and spirit of Quakerism concluded:

These are things that appear to us so just and reasonable that we hope our brethren, the English who profess to have a sincere regard both for our temporal and eternal Interests, will readily agree to them. A Friendship that is founded on Justice and equity . . . may reasonably be expected to prove durable, . . .⁵

The conference therefore was a complete success from the Quaker point of view and, to their delight, General Forbes, upon arriving, advised Governor Denny to perform faithfully all that Pennsylvania had promised the Delawares.⁶

The Friendly Association now pressed the Assembly to do its part toward fulfilling the terms of the treaty. Aware that the public treasury was empty, the Association offered to supply the Assembly with the necessary funds.⁷ A loan was soon arranged, and a large party under John Hughes and Isaac Zane was dispatched to Wyoming to complete the building of the new Delaware village. The work was attended by much danger: skulking Indians frequently were seen, and ominous reports unnerved the workers.⁸ Governor Denny had suggested that Friends, prominent in Indian affairs, ought to accompany the party and help in the work, but Isaac

³ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII, 48-49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII, 110.

⁷ Papers of the Friendly Association, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

⁸ Norris’ Letter Book, 1756-1765, 92.

Norris wrote Franklin that they declined the danger and "still sleep securely at home."⁹ On the other hand, John Pemberton, who had previously exhibited his faith in the power of divine protection in the face of danger, explained that Quakers generally had declined because the party was provided with an armed escort. Isaac Zane, however, was a strict Quaker who was not "easy in his own mind" about it and decided to go notwithstanding the militia guards.¹⁰ Zane's party consisted of a number of carpenters, a mason, and an interpreter, and was financed solely by the Friendly Association at the cost of £97.¹¹ In the whole contingent there were between fifty and sixty carpenters who finished ten cabins, but after one of the workers was killed by skulking Indians Hughes could restrain them no longer and was compelled to return before the work was completed.¹²

Realizing that Sir William Johnson represented the most formidable critic of the Quakers and their Friendly Association, Israel Pemberton, in a letter to Dr. Fothergill, stressed the need of at least removing Johnson's jurisdiction over the Pennsylvania Indians.¹³ If this could be done, Pemberton's next move would be to urge the adoption of a grandiose plan which had for its purpose the establishment of a lasting peace with all the Indian tribes on the frontiers of the British colonies. It would be a subject, Israel confided to Fothergill,

worthy of the deepest attention, whether the Ministry could . . . be engag'd to grant a Commission to a number of persons from ye sev^l [several] diff^t [different] governments specially authorizing ym[them] to search all ye Records of Indian Affairs & make use of every other means . . . & likewise to convince ye chiefs of the several neighb'g Indian nations & after a candid enquiry from them with uprightness & integrity to adjust & satisfy their several claims & endeavor to ascertain boundaries between them & ye English settlements. . . . It seems to me almost self evident that nothing less than this will ever restore peace to us on durable foundations.¹⁴

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 78.

¹¹ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 91.

¹² *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXX (1906), 417-425.

¹³ Israel Pemberton to John Fothergill, May 31, 1758, Pemberton Papers, Box 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Israel Pemberton would extend his inquest to every English colony and establish a continental boundary between the English and the Indians from the northern limits of New England to the southernmost parts of Georgia—a plan which five years later the British government adopted by the Proclamation of 1763. Dr. Fothergill presented Pemberton's plan to Lord Granville, thus initiating official consideration of the feasibility of a definite boundary between the English and the Indians. A month later Pemberton pressed John Hunt to exert every effort to persuade the ministry to establish a commission to set a continental boundary line and suggested that General Forbes would make an admirable chairman of such a board.¹⁵

Soon Israel Pemberton had cause to view with dismay the indifference and unconcern displayed by Governor Denny toward messages received from the western Indians. When a second message arrived from the far Indians and nothing was done, Pemberton could countenance the inaction no longer. The Governor and Richard Peters were temporarily at Wilmington, Delaware, but Pemberton, accompanied by fellow Quakers, made a personal application to every member of the Council for action upon the matter. The petition was successful: the Council agreed to send an invitation to the Ohio Indians to negotiate a peace. Next, Pemberton solicited the intervention of General Stanwix in behalf of a similar invitation to the Senecas but, unfortunately, that officer soon left Philadelphia. General Forbes, however, arrived shortly and Pemberton at once went to him. In the General he found a man sympathetic to the Quaker Indian program,¹⁶ and the wholeheartedness with which Forbes accepted plans for establishing peace with the western Indians doubtlessly made the capture of Fort Duquesne much easier.

At the Lancaster conference of the previous year, Pemberton had endeavored to persuade George Croghan not to make an agreement with a band of Cherokees to join the English against the

¹⁵ Israel Pemberton to John Hunt, June 29, 1758, Pemberton Papers, Box 3. The Board of Trade after 1755 opposed western settlement until the Indian claims were satisfied by the British government. See O. M. Dickerson, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*, 345-347.

¹⁶ Israel Pemberton to John Fothergill, May 31, 1758, Pemberton Papers, Box 3.

French, for fear of alienating the friendship of the Six Nations, the traditional enemies of the Cherokees. Inasmuch as the Cherokees would be used in a campaign not far from the Seneca country, the latter, already sympathetic to the French, might be persuaded by the enemy to join them openly against the English and Cherokees. Now, in the summer of 1758, this danger was augmented by the fact that a large number of Cherokees and Catawbas had come north and were encamped in western Maryland ready to go against the French and Indians. Although Pemberton had repeated conversations with General Forbes on this delicate subject, the General, pelted with contrary advice from Peters and the Provincial Council, declined acting on the Quaker's suggestion.

At this juncture came startling reports from the northern forest of hundreds of Senecas on their way against English settlements because they believed the Cherokees and Catawbas had been brought north to wipe them out.¹⁷ Instantly General Forbes realized that what Israel Pemberton had warned him against was taking place.¹⁸ Pemberton hurried to Conrad Weiser, from whom the report had come and who now agreed that Pennsylvania must act swiftly to avoid a great Indian war. But, contrary to Pemberton's opinion, Weiser believed messengers should be sent direct to the Senecas and not through Teedyuscung. He thought the latter was despised by the Iroquois who would receive no messages relayed by him. Pennsylvania's relationship with the Six Nations, Weiser explained to Pemberton, must be strengthened, and playing up to Teedyuscung would only increase the ill will of the Six Nations toward Pennsylvania.

Pemberton was disgusted to think that a man of Weiser's knowledge and understanding of the Indians should be so unrealistic as to talk of the Six Nations in 1758 as a united power. Weiser's plan, Pemberton thought, would only have the effect of leaving conditions unaltered by reaffirming the undoubted friendship of the Mohawks and their satellites, leaving the western Iroquois as estranged as before. Unable to convince Weiser, Israel hurried to General Forbes and acquainted him with intelligence from Isaac Zane on the crisis developing in the north. He then informed the

¹⁷ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 126-127.

¹⁸ Israel Pemberton to John Hunt, June 18, 1758, Pemberton Papers, Box 3.

General that a Cherokee had just brought him a message which the Cherokees wished to send to the Six Nations and the Delawares. By this time Forbes was coming to believe Pemberton's advice was to be valued above that of the Pennsylvania officials.

That day General Forbes held a conference attended by Governor Denny, Secretary Peters, Conrad Weiser, members of the Provincial Council, and Israel Pemberton. The latter brought along the Indian who had delivered him the message from the Cherokees. When Pemberton made known the character of the Cherokee message, the members of the Council were so angered that the poor Indian shrank with fright for having conveyed the message to him. "They were sure," sarcastically observed Israel, "the Cherokees could have sent no such messages to the Delawares. . . ." ¹⁹ But to their chagrin, General Forbes came out with an unequivocal support of Pemberton, stating that the messages would be sent to Teedyuscung and that any other course would be highly imprudent. The next day a message to the Indians was drawn up by the Council upon receipt of which the General turned it over to Pemberton for approval. Israel made as many amendments as he deemed advisable and had the satisfaction of having the General insist that the Council accept them. ²⁰ Pemberton entertained no delusion as to the importance of maintaining Teedyuscung's power among the Indians, a factor upon which the Quaker influence over Indian affairs depended. Very likely the Cherokee decision to send peace belts to the northern Indians had its inception in the fertile mind of Israel Pemberton.

It soon was decided that Charles Thomson and Christian Frederick Post would carry the invitation for a general peace conference at Easton to Wyoming, from which place Teedyuscung would send it to the Senecas, Minisinks, and allied Indians. Post, who went by his middle name, Frederick, was a Moravian and widely known among the Indians, having lived with them for years. On the way the messengers met a number of friendly Indians who advised them to turn back inasmuch as French Indians were known to be near, but the pair continued on their way and delivered the messages to Teedyuscung.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Thomson and Post were to have carried the Cherokee peace belts with the Pennsylvania messages but before the matter could be settled with the Cherokee, he became violently ill. Presently the Indian recovered and repeated to Peters in the presence of Pemberton the Cherokee message of peace.²¹ As soon as Thomson and Post returned from Wyoming, the latter was dispatched again with the Cherokee message and belts to the Delawares. The Cherokee declined to have the belts for the Six Nations delivered by Post, having decided to carry them personally as soon as he had recovered sufficiently.²² The Cherokee messenger reached Onondaga in July and succeeded in quieting the apprehension of the Six Nations.²³

Late in June, Pemberton was able to prepare the way for a peace between New Jersey and the Delawares. Through General Forbes, he arranged for Governor Bernard of New Jersey to come to Philadelphia to discuss Indian affairs. The meeting resulted in a pledge by Bernard to negotiate a peace with the Indians through an offer to settle all differences between New Jersey and the Minisinks.²⁴ Within a few days two Delaware Indians were dispatched to the Minisinks with an invitation from New Jersey to attend the next conference at Easton.²⁵ Gratifying reports came from Wyoming that even formerly pro-French Delawares were leaving the Ohio and returning to Wyoming to settle with Teedyuscung and his band.²⁶ All this was looked upon by Pemberton as demonstrating the wisdom of his Indian policy as well as the necessity of securing the land to the Delawares by a deed. This last act, he believed, would clinch the peace with the Delawares and afford an example to all other colonies for fashioning a sound Indian policy.

²¹ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 135.

²² Israel Pemberton to John Hunt, June 29, 1758, *loc. cit.* There were now about a dozen Cherokees in Philadelphia being fed and clothed by Israel Pemberton in the name of the Friendly Association. See Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 90.

²³ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 57.

²⁴ Israel Pemberton to John Fothergill, May 31, 1758, Pemberton Papers, Box 3.

²⁵ The messengers met about fifty Senecas near Tunghannock on their way to raid the English settlement on the Delaware River. The Senecas complained of the Susquehanna Indians making peace and leaving them to fight the English. The two Indians found the Minisinks living along the Chemung River, the warriors all dressed in French clothing. Provincial Papers, XXVII, 53 (Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg).

²⁶ Israel Pemberton to John Fothergill, May 31, 1758, *loc. cit.*

Early in July, Teedyuscung appeared again in Philadelphia accompanied by two old Delawares from the Ohio. A conference soon was called in which Governor Denny rose to the occasion and painted in glowing colors the peace established between Pennsylvania and the Susquehanna Indians. He then pictured the great army that soon would march upon the Ohio and told how he hoped the Delawares and Shawnees would move out of the path of war for fear of harm overtaking them. Teedyuscung, who as usual was a guest at the home of Israel Pemberton, thereupon proposed sending a full account of the Easton treaty to the Ohio Indians together with an invitation for them to attend the treaty in October.²⁷ The proposal was accepted by General Forbes and Governor Denny. Accordingly, Frederick Post was called upon to perform the dangerous service. Frederick Post, with a Delaware known as Shamokin Daniel, left Philadelphia on July 15, 1758, for the Ohio. The intrepid Moravian made his way straight for the Forks of the Ohio and there, under the very eyes of the French, delivered his message to the Indians. He dared not enter the French fort but had the Indians meet him on the opposite bank. The Indian chiefs Shingas, Beaver King, and others thanked Frederick Post for the message from the English and promised to consider the invitation. When Post left the Forks, the French sent a party to get his scalp, but the wily Moravian eluded them and returned safely to Philadelphia.²⁸

To the great surprise of everyone and the delight of Israel Pemberton and the Quakers, a party of Senecas and Minisinks, the latter the most inveterate enemies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, came to Philadelphia in acknowledgment of the invitations received from Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Pemberton now had his hand further strengthened when, to the chagrin of the Proprietary leaders, the warlike visitors acknowledged Teedyuscung's leadership and advised the Governor to work through him. The Indians then informed the English that they could expect delegates from all six tribes of the Iroquois as well as the Minisinks

²⁷ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 54-55. Teedyuscung is said to have endeavored to dissuade Post from making the journey to the Ohio. The Chief may have feared Post would discover how little he had done to convey the Pennsylvania peace offers to the Ohio Indians and how little influence he had among them. See C. H. Sipe, *Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, 360.

²⁸ Robert Proud, *History of Pennsylvania*, II, 65-95.

and Susquehanna Delawares at Easton in the fall.²⁹ At last Israel Pemberton was likely to have his long desired general Indian treaty, consisting of delegates from all the tribes forming the great Indian crescent beyond the Pennsylvania frontier.

The problem of affording the Indians access to stores which would receive their furs in exchange for reasonably priced merchandise of good quality reappeared as the Indians were induced to desert the French and make peace with the English. All serious thinkers on Indian relations had searched for years for a solution of the very troublesome abuses in the Indian trade. Sir William Johnson confessed that the problem was too baffling for him to solve. The Indians traded the very goods he supplied them from Crown funds for liquor and then speedily returned for more presents. "Provincial penal Laws have been made, but to no purpose. I have done all in my power against this universal enemy, . . . but it is too subtle & too powerful a one for me to reduce within proper bounds . . .," he wrote General Abercrombie.³⁰ It was imperative, however, that the Indians of the frontier be supplied with goods from the English if they were not to go to the French for them and be reëxposed to seduction.³¹ Unfortunately, many Indians complained that they were forced to take their furs to the French because the English did not send ample stocks to the forts. In September 1757, Major Burd wrote the Governor that a party of thirty Delawares brought their furs to Fort Augusta and, finding no goods there, went away complaining of Pennsylvania's "breach of faith."³²

For nearly two years the Pennsylvania Assembly offered Indian trade bills to the Governor, only to be refused because the acts invested the legislature with power over Indian affairs. Finally in the fall of 1757, Governor Denny accepted a bill which was none too satisfactory to either party, but under which a trading post was established at Shamokin in November.³³ After the post was erected,

²⁹ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 151.

³⁰ *Johnson Papers*, IX, 905-906.

³¹ *Ibid.*, IX, 868, 869.

³² T. W. Balch, *Letters and Papers Relating Chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, 107; *Colonial Records*, VII, 734-735.

³³ Israel Pemberton to John Hunt, January 16, 1758, Pemberton Papers, Box 3. An act passed March 1757 for £100,000 had set aside £1,000 for Indian goods at Ft. Augusta. These soon were exhausted. See *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, IV, 323-324.

the Assembly discovered it had no funds with which to stock it, and as many Indians were planning to bring their furs to Shamokin in the spring, the prospect was cause for deep concern. What would the Indians think after tugging their packs across the mountains only to be met with the prospect of taking them home again to rot? In desperation the Assembly's Indian commissioners turned to Israel Pemberton and urged him to supply the post until they could. It was this reason more than the prospect of profit, explained Pemberton in a letter to Hunt, which caused him to send £200 in goods to Shamokin.³⁴

Throughout the opening months and spring of 1758, the Governor and Assembly disputed over a new and more elaborate Indian trade bill until, finally, terms were reached and the Governor signed the measure.³⁵ Writing to Denny in July, Johnson declared that in his opinion the Provincial regulation of the Indian trade was about the most salutary measure Pennsylvania could make in the present crisis, trade being the most efficacious attraction to the Indians the English could offer.³⁶

The Pennsylvania Indian trade acts were based upon a system worked out in Massachusetts earlier in the century.³⁷ The regulation of the Indian trade was given to a commission which fixed prices binding upon all persons trading with the Indians. Private traders were prohibited from selling liquor to the natives, and, as an added precaution, were denied the right to trade beyond the Alleghenies. In addition, the Commissioners—the majority of whom were Quakers—were to recommend schoolmasters and ministers of the Gospel to the Governor for service among the Indians.³⁸

Before it was certain, however, that the Pennsylvania government would take a hand in the Indian trade, London Quakers had given the matter serious consideration. Upon returning from America, John Hunt visited Thomas Penn to discuss Pennsylvania's prob-

³⁴ Same to same, January 6, 1758, *loc. cit.*

³⁵ Balch, *op. cit.*, 113; Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, IX, 11.

³⁶ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, IX, 49.

³⁷ *Massachusetts Acts*, IX, 686; X, 745. Georgia had a forward looking Indian policy while under the influence of James Oglethorpe. Management of Indian affairs was under commissioners and all traders were licensed under bond. See H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, IV, 397.

³⁸ *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, IV, 320-326.

lems and especially that of Indian trade. Soon Hunt conceived the plan whereby London Quakers would finance a trade with the Indians which would be conducted with the greatest deference for the welfare of the natives. Within a short time, Dr. John Fothergill, Thomas Crosbyn, Robert Foster, and John Hunt agreed to make up a sum of £1,000 for the purchase of goods for the Indians. The Friends then presented their plans to Lord Granville who thought it an admirable project. Already Israel Pemberton had sent an order to Hunt for Indian goods for the Shamokin post to which Hunt answered: "'Tis no small satisfaction to us to observe that the same motives which induced us to advance the above sum had influenced thee to order some goods for promoting the like design. We therefore conceived this step of ours will not be disagreeable to you."³⁹ By May, the London Friends had sent over £800 in Indian goods consigned to the Friendly Association for disposal. Instructions were sent by Hunt and Fothergill to the effect that the merchandise should be sold to the Indians at the lowest advisable rates, inasmuch as the London Friends did not care to make a profit but rather aimed to do what they could "to cement such a reciprocal regard & confidence between the English in general & the Indians. . . ."⁴⁰

When Israel Pemberton received word of the plans of his London friends, he was somewhat dismayed at their audacity. Writing to Hunt, he said: "I am under some apprehension [this] may have some consequences wch did not im'ediately occur to you. I suppose thou art sensible we have been charged by Loudoun, Johnson & ye Proprietary tools with acting on self interested motives & partly with having a view to engross the trade."⁴¹ However, Pemberton thought they could evince their sincerity though they might be subject to some difficulties for a time.

Notice of the passing of the Indian trade act in Pennsylvania did not lessen John Hunt's zeal for his plan. The act fell "vastly short of our views, the sum to be employed therein is very small & can only serve as a means to appease the Natives at this critical junc-

³⁹ John Hunt to Israel Pemberton, February 23, 1758, Pemberton Papers, Box 3.

⁴⁰ Same to same, May 26, 1758, *loc. cit.* The Friendly Association was cautioned not to put the price so low as to make the Indians feel they previously had been imposed upon nor to incur the ill will of persons engaged in the Indian trade.

⁴¹ Israel Pemberton to John Hunt, May 31, 1758, *loc. cit.*

ture," he wrote Pemberton.⁴² And rightly did Hunt reason that the Pennsylvania Indian trade bill had been allowed by the Governor at the suggestion of Thomas Penn principally for the purpose of frustrating the plan conceived by the London Quakers. In April, Penn went so far as to request Peters to form a rival company if necessary to prevent the Quakers from reaping political capital from their enterprise.⁴³ But Dr. Fothergill, who was less carried away by the prospects of the plan and possessed greater political ability than Hunt, realized that, for the present at least, the Indian trade act had taken the wind out of the Quaker sails. In September, he wrote Pemberton that the plan would be dropped as unnecessary under the present circumstances.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Fothergill let Pemberton know that the Quakers were undergoing savage attacks from the London press. Sending Israel an extract which charged that Quakers had fabricated the whole story of Proprietary frauds for the purpose of shifting the blame for the Indian war, Dr. Fothergill admonished his Philadelphia friend: "Dont grow warm and impatient; sink quietly down and look for better direction than even thy own. Let every prudent measure be taken quietly to procure the necessary materials for your justification. . . . The whole affair will I believe be brought before the K's [King's] council." ⁴⁵

⁴² John Hunt to Israel Pemberton, July 8, 1758, *loc. cit.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*; Peters MSS, V, 32.

⁴⁴ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 33.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XII

THE TREATY OF 1758

SHORTLY before the Easton conference of 1758, the Trustees of the Friendly Association voted to spend £500 in presents for the Indians.¹ Teedyuscung with his Delawares to the number of sixty arrived early. The Chief's greatest concern from the outset appeared to be to keep himself drunk, an ambition, incidentally, accompanied by great success.² George Croghan also arrived early, and with him came many Iroquois, representing all six tribes of the Confederation. Nichas, the Mohawk (now George Croghan's father-in-law), Thomas King, the great orator of the Oneidas, and Tagashata, with half a hundred fellow Senecas, were the most distinguished delegates from the Six Nations. They were accompanied by representatives of all their principal satellites: Nanticokes, Tuteloes, Chugnuts, Minisinks, Mohicans, Wappingers, and Delawares. In all, the Indians numbered about five hundred.³ Among the Six Nations the traditional bond of union, although severely strained, remained a factor that none dared ignore.

Before the conference opened, George Croghan told Richard Peters he was certain neither the Six Nations nor the Minisinks would tolerate the presumptions of Teedyuscung. The latter, instead of trying to gain their favor, went about abusing all the Indians who would submit to it. At times, especially when deep in liquor, his ravings were such as to cause anyone to doubt that he ever had the slightest intention of making peace. Toward the end of September, when a little drunker than usual, he stormed into a meeting of the Six Nations and harangued them for listening to

¹ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 93.

² Peters' Diary, September 28, 1758 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

³ The Nanticokes formerly had occupied eastern Maryland and Delaware; the Mohicans and Wappingers once had lived on both sides of the lower Hudson. The dependent tribes were all Algonquian stock and related to the Delawares with the exception of the Tuteloes, who were Siouan and had lived formerly in North Carolina.

the English. All Indians who listened to the English were fools, he said, and he never would make peace but would drive them all into the sea.⁴ The next day, however, he said he was sorry for his conduct and asked the Six Nations to pardon him.⁵

To Richard Peters the prospect of procuring a treaty satisfactory to the Proprietors was far from encouraging. Although Nicholas, the Mohawk, could be depended upon to do all in his power to put the Delawares in their place, there were others who might give no end of trouble. Weiser believed the Seneca chief, Tagashata, had been Teedyuscung's close friend and adviser, and everyone knew Thomas King to have a mind of his own. Croghan warned Peters that he was quite sure the Minisinks would demand satisfaction for their land along the Delaware above the Forks, causing Peters to confide in his diary: "Demands . . . & what to do I know not."⁶

When Governor Denny arrived, he opened the conference with the usual address of welcome. At the outset great confusion arose over the necessity of interpreting the speeches into so many Indian tongues. Teedyuscung showed little interest in the exchange of salutations but sat like a beaten man next to Israel Pemberton and offered to take no part in the proceedings.⁷

The next two days were spent by the Six Nations in almost continuous council, during which Croghan and Nicholas were remarkably successful in gaining unity among them. As a result of their deliberations Tagashata, the Seneca chief, was persuaded to ask the Delawares and Minisinks publicly why they had made war upon the English.⁸ Thus the Six Nations reopened the old questions thought to have been settled at the previous treaty and at the start threw Teedyuscung and the Quakers on the defensive. The Quakers were infuriated and charged Croghan with laying a contemptible intrigue to discredit Teedyuscung and make the Delawares out to be liars.

The next day Tagashata in the name of the Six Nations formally made peace between the Delawares and the English, ignoring, as it were, Teedyuscung and his treaty of the previous year and re-

⁴ *Ibid.*, September 29, 1758.

⁵ *Ibid.*, September 30, 1758.

⁶ *Ibid.*, October 5, 1758.

⁷ Chew's Diary, October 8, 1758 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁸ *Ibid.*, October 9, 1758; Peters' Diary, October 9, 1758.

affirming the principle of Iroquois suzerainty. The Seneca Chief stated he had been requested to do this by the Delawares, but if he represented the wishes of the majority of them, he nevertheless aroused the fiercest passion in Teedyuscung who was neither consulted nor informed about it and who considered the whole affair a base plot to discredit him. Teedyuscung interrupted the Seneca Chief several times by pointing to his kingship of the Delawares and charging Tagashata with having become the minion of Croghan. But Teedyuscung was too drunk to keep within reason and he soon fell to raving that the only way to use the English was to tomahawk and scalp them; then they would respect the Indians and give them justice. Even Teedyuscung's Quaker friends were disgusted and angry at his insane behavior, but he would not be quieted and climaxed the scene by dramatically pulling off his apron and casting it at the feet of Tagashata with the imperious pronouncement that the latter was more fit to wear it than a Delaware.⁹

The next day Nichas arose in council and vigorously denounced Teedyuscung and his claim to authority and power. Apparently Nichas wished to make it plain that the Mohawks considered the Delawares still dependents of the Six Nations without any rights to engage in war, peace or diplomacy. Weiser believed the Delawares and Minisinks, if not Teedyuscung, would accept and follow Tagashata's leadership but that they would take nothing from the Mohawks whom they considered the authors of their loss of independence as well as much of their land. Therefore, Weiser declined to interpret Nichas' speech, and the next day Israel Pemberton called the Indians together and secured their consent not to insist upon having Nichas' speech interpreted but to forget it for the best interests of all.¹⁰

But Teedyuscung had gone too far with his extravagant boasting and arrogance and the Proprietary men hardly needed to encourage the Chief's enemies. Determined to rub Teedyuscung's face in the mud, the Six Nation chiefs the next day one by one—Mohawks, Senecas, Oneidas, and Onondagas—arose and pointedly inquired who made Teedyuscung a great man. In reply Governor

⁹ Peters' Diary, October 12, 1758.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, October 14, 1758.

Denny stated that Teedyuscung always had maintained that he was a "woman" until the Six Nations put a tomahawk in his hand two years ago, but that so far as Denny knew Teedyuscung never had denied the suzerainty of the Six Nations.¹¹ With the old relationship between the Six Nations and the Delawares positively reaffirmed and Teedyuscung's fortune under a heavy cloud, the Pennsylvania authorities now were in position to attempt to have an opinion rendered on the Delaware claims by their masters, the Six Nations.

The Assembly Indian Commissioners previously had made an arrangement with the Provincial Council whereby both parties would agree on all matters brought before the conference. The Commissioners now explained that they were not apprised of the nature of the morning's business until shortly before the meeting with the Indians. Peters put it in his diary that this was Chew's scheme to prevent the Commissioners from constantly running to Israel Pemberton for advice, thus jeopardizing administration plans. However, through his cousin Charles Read, the secretary for Governor Bernard, Pemberton succeeded in incorporating in Bernard's speech an eulogy on Teedyuscung's contribution to colonial peace. As Benjamin Chew metaphorically observed, Charles Read was completely "governed by ye House of Israel."¹²

The Indians began the second week of the conference sober to a man, but for the Proprietary officials the week did not have an auspicious beginning. Thomas King, the Oneida chief who had made it plain at the Lancaster treaty that the Delawares—in fact all Indians—had cause enough to strike the English, now arose and unequivocally labeled the English aggressors. After naming a number of acts of aggression on the part of the English, King declared that the Six Nations were dissatisfied with the Albany purchase of 1754 and desired to reclaim all of the territory for which they had not yet received compensation.¹³

Teedyuscung and his Quaker counsellors seized with alacrity the opportunity offered by King's speech. The Delaware chief began his speech by bringing to mind the killing of some Indians

¹¹ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 194; Chew's Diary, October 16, 1758; Peters' Diary, October 16, 1758.

¹² Chew's Diary, October 16, 1758.

¹³ *Ibid.*, October 17, 1758; *Colonial Records*, VIII, 197–199.

who had lived in peace near the settlements and then proceeded to consider the much more important point of the peace belts which he had sent to all the "Ten Nations." At this point the Six Nation chiefs one by one arose and left the council ring, an action signifying their positive denial of Teedyuscung's claim to a place in the councils of Indian affairs. Chagrined and angered by this insult, Teedyuscung proceeded to reiterate his claims against the Proprietors and closed by asking if King George had passed judgment on the matter as agreed upon at the last treaty.¹⁴

Peters, Weiser, and members of the Council were fully aware of Israel Pemberton's remarkable success, notwithstanding repeated setbacks, in overcoming obstacles and emasculating the carefully laid plans of his adversaries. It was plain that he had made steady progress since his reverses early in the conference and might soon retrieve most of the lost ground. Conrad Weiser suspected that private messages passed between Pemberton and the Indians even when they were in council at Croghan's.¹⁵ Peters noted in his diary that Israel Pemberton with quantities of presents at his disposal "would in spite of us gain all his points unless some goods come into ye hands of C. Weiser."¹⁶ Fortunately the Proprietary party was able to induce the Commissioners, who now were pursuing a more conciliatory course, to turn over some goods to the Governor at this juncture.¹⁷

Matters now had come to a head and it was inadvisable for the Proprietary men to delay any longer the crucial play for a Six Nation verification of Proprietary rights. "To effect this so as to guard against a quarrel among the Indians (which at this time might be attended with very bad consequences . . .) appeared a very nice point & to require a great deal of skill and caution. And to make an attempt & fail . . . wou'd expose us to the ridicule & abuse of our enemies . . . ," Chew wrote in his diary.¹⁸ They decided therefore first to have the Six Nations sounded by Weiser, who accordingly gathered together the chiefs and explained the official inter-

¹⁴ Chew's Diary, October 18, 1758; Peters' Diary, October 18, 1758; *Colonial Records*, VIII, 201; J. P. Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties*, 231.

¹⁵ Peters' Diary, October 18, 1758.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Chew's Diary, October 19, 1758.

pretation of the Proprietary purchases. But to the disappointment of the Pennsylvania officials, the Six Nation chiefs refused to have anything to do with the Walking Purchase. Although they had signed a deed for this land in 1736, they maintained the Iroquois considered their action to be but a confirmation of the Delaware sale in their capacity as overlords. "Furnished with this Information," Chew noted with resignation, "we were obliged to form the Governor's Speech accordingly & were obliged to be satisfied with letting the former dispute & heavy charges against the Prop^{rs} rest till it shou'd be heard & decided by His Majesty as was agreed at the last Treaty." ¹⁹

Teedyuscung now receded from his advance claims by renouncing any rights to lands high up on the Delaware. Concomitantly he asked the Six Nations for a deed to Wyoming, but it was plain by the anger evoked that his request was extremely distasteful to the Iroquois.²⁰ Israel Pemberton did his best to convince the Iroquois chiefs that they should deed Wyoming to the Delawares and, finally, offered them two thousand pieces of eight if they would agree to do so. It was at this point that Peters recorded in his diary, "Time for me to bestir myself to prevent this especially as . . . the demand made by Teedyuscung [includes] 2,500,000 acres of the best central land in the Province." ²¹

When Thomas Penn in the spring of 1757 first heard of the scheme to settle Teedyuscung and his Delawares on some land which could not be alienated by them, he approved of the plan on general principles.²² In November, Penn still was amenable to the suggestion but thought it quite unlikely the Six Nations would be willing to grant them a very large tract. Moreover, he cautioned Peters to be on guard against a possible scheme by the Assembly and Quakers to get the land for Teedyuscung and then straightway proceed to take it from him. "Can it be the rich lands of Wyomen that the Speaker [Norris] & faction want to get of them?" queried Thomas Penn.²³ By January 1758, Penn was informed of the approximate boundaries which Teedyuscung desired for his

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Peters' Diary, October 20, 1758.

²¹ *Ibid.*, October 21, 1758.

²² Peters MSS., IV, 9, 106.

²³ *Ibid.*, IV, 122.

Wyoming reservation, a tract no less than two or three million acres, which "you may be certain we shall not readily grant," Penn assured Peters.²⁴

Meanwhile the Six Nation Indians were demanding the restitution of the Albany Purchase of 1754. Sir William Johnson agreed that the purchase was fairly made, but he felt compelled to admit that it had decidedly weakened the English cause among the Iroquois and allied Indians. Regarding this point Thomas Penn was called before the Board of Trade in the fall of 1756, and although he refused to admit to the Board that the purchase had weakened the English interest among the Indians, he prudently offered to cancel the purchase if the Board should advise it.²⁵ In May 1757, Penn wrote Peters that the Governor and Council were at liberty to annul the purchase if the Indians seemed disturbed over it.²⁶

Now that the Six Nations had registered a formal complaint against the purchase, Governor Denny announced in council to the Iroquois that their land was duly restored to them in the name of the Proprietor.²⁷ This was the master stroke calculated to place the Six Nations indubitably in the interest of Pennsylvania and the English.

The Indians had been called to Easton to make an omnibus treaty, and the results fulfilled the purpose of the conference by the settlement of all outstanding disputes except the Walking Purchase still pending before His Majesty's government. Many minor claims were settled in addition to the major ones; New Jersey gave the Minisinks \$1,000 for their New Jersey claims;²⁸ Teedyuscung was informed by the Six Nations that they would present his request for Wyoming to the great council at Onondaga for consideration and that in the meantime the Delawares were free to use the land as formerly.²⁹

²⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 15. Land speculators were ready to try any means to rid themselves of Proprietary quitrents but it is difficult to understand how this could be done by having the Six Nations transfer Wyoming to the Delawares. Furthermore, there does not seem to be sufficient unanimity between Norris and Pemberton to support this hypothesis.

²⁵ Boyd, *op. cit.*, lxxxiv; Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, II, 108; *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 127-130.

²⁶ Peters MSS, IV, 91, 116.

²⁷ Chew's Diary, October 20, 1758.

²⁸ Boyd, *op. cit.*, 236.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 243. At three succeeding treaties Pemberton unsuccessfully endeavored to persuade the Six Nations to deed Wyoming to the Delawares.

Satisfying the claims and grievances of the Indians had the effect of placing the English in a better light among the natives in general, although in most cases it tended to neutralize the Indians rather than win them over. The restoration of the lands of western Pennsylvania to the Indians did much to reunite the Iroquois and raise the prestige of the Council of Onondaga, while the act was immediately employed to lessen the suspicion of the Ohio Indians. The fact that the act of retrocession applied only to trans-Allegheny lands led many to believe that a boundary had been set between the English and the Indians and thereby contributed to the genesis of the Proclamation of 1763. Furthermore, the treaty reaffirmed the old relationship between the Six Nations and the Delawares, bringing disrepute upon Teedyuscung and the Quaker-Delaware diplomacy. Quaker intervention in Indian affairs reached its height just before the Easton conference which constituted a setback and the beginning of a rapid decline in their influence in Indian affairs.

On October 25, the conference closed with a distribution of presents to the Indians. Israel Pemberton left that day for Philadelphia. Just before riding off he drew rein at the place where the presents were being distributed and noticing the dissatisfaction of Thomas King, threw him some pieces of silver and announced that more goods were being sent.³⁰ Teedyuscung and all the Delawares had dined with the Quakers at the Ferry House before parting. After dinner the Chief took Israel Pemberton and Isaac Zane aside and assured them that the words of the Quakers had sunk deep into his heart and that he would look to God for direction when alone in the woods and without the counsel of his Quaker brethren. The scene was very touching and Friends declared that Teedyuscung's voice was sad and tears streamed from his eyes.³¹

While the Treaty of Easton was in progress, General Forbes was preparing his march upon Fort Duquesne, and Frederick Post was again among the Indians along the Allegheny doing his best to dissuade them from entering the path of war, in fine, to desert the French. The Ohio Indians by this time were much less sure of an ultimate victory for the French: supplies for the French and Indians of the Ohio had been largely cut off by Bradstreet's capture of Fort Frontenac on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and

³⁰ Peters' Diary, October 25, 1758.

³¹ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 40.

General Forbes had a well equipped and formidable force of 7,850 men.³² The chiefs, apparently, deemed it prudent to keep both doors open and sent peace messages to Easton and warriors to aid the French. The English vanguard sustained heavy losses in the initial stages of the invasion but at Loyalhanna west of the mountains, the French and Indians were compelled to retreat after failing to take the camp by a desperate attack. This encounter greatly weakened the confidence of the French and Indians and concomitantly increased their respect for the English army.³³

Frederick Post now found his work easier, and when word arrived of the great peace made at Easton, he hastened to assure the Ohio Indians that they were included in it as testified by the fact that Pennsylvania had released their hunting grounds.³⁴ By November 20, Forbes was within twenty miles of Fort Duquesne with a force of 2,500 men.³⁵ The French used every argument at hand to persuade the Indians to make a stand with them, but the assurances of Frederick Post, coupled with the strength of Forbes' army, prevailed, and the Indians like rats deserting a sinking ship stood by while Forbes closed upon Duquesne. The French were too few to make a stand, and after demolishing the fort, the English forced them to retreat north to Venango.³⁶ It was General Forbes' belief that the Pennsylvania peace overture to the Indians was the main factor in persuading them to become neutral, but in all probability he overestimated its influence and underestimated the cowering effect of his army.³⁷

³² T. F. Gordon, *A History of Pennsylvania from Its Discovery by Europeans to 1776*, 366.

³³ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, III, 128.

³⁴ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 61.

³⁵ Forbes left divisions at various strategic points as he advanced upon Duquesne. See Gordon, *op. cit.*, 367-368.

³⁶ R. Proud, *History of Pennsylvania*, II, Appendix, 96.

³⁷ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 233-237.

CHAPTER XIII

A CHAPTER IN HISTORY DRAWS TO A CLOSE

AFTER driving the French from the Forks of the Ohio, General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet were in urgent need of Indian goods to win the loyalty of the Indians. The commander sent word to Philadelphia describing the need of goods, the lack of which compelled him to supply the natives with powder and lead for the hunt from the army stores.¹ Unfortunately the Pennsylvania Indian Commissioners lacked the necessary funds to meet the exigencies of the new demand. Acting closely with the Commissioners, most of whom were members of the Friendly Association, Israel Pemberton concluded that the Association should rise to the occasion and do all in its power to clinch the newly won peace by convincing the western Indians that it was to their interest to remain at peace with the English.²

Realizing that no time should be lost in getting goods to Fort Pitt, Pemberton set about making the necessary preparations. On December 10, he hired James Kenny to conduct to Fort Pitt two wagon loads of stores which were purchased out of a sum of £1,500 given the Friendly Association by German Mennonites and Schwenkfelders.³ Pemberton instructed Kenny that it should be left to General Forbes' discretion as to whether the goods should be presented to the Indians in the name of the government or of the Friendly Association, and that the General was to be free to

¹ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 67. Forbes, Bouquet, and Stanwix fully approved of Pemberton's aid.

² John Baynton, of the well-known Philadelphia fur company of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, stole Israel Pemberton's thunder when he declared in 1766 that they were supplying the Indians with goods to keep them friendly. See T. P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution*, 27.

³ Israel Pemberton to John Hunt, December 10, 1758, Pemberton Papers, Box 3. Fort Duquesne was rebuilt and named Fort Pitt.

send the goods to Indians in Pennsylvania, Maryland, or Virginia.⁴ Although the merchandise consisted principally of coats and blankets, there also were included powder, lead, hatchets and knives—articles which though necessary for hunting and domestic needs were, unfortunately, equally usable for war. If General Forbes should deem that all the goods were not required for presents, Pemberton planned to have the remainder sent to Fort Cumberland to be sold to the Indians who came there to trade.⁵ Soon after the wagons left Philadelphia, Israel received a letter from Governor Sharp of Maryland informing him that he was free to set up stores in Maryland as that state had no laws regulating the Indian trade.⁶

Uneasy for the success of his project, Pemberton hastened to overtake Kenny whom he found upon reaching Lancaster on December 25, 1758. That day a number of the Trustees of the Friendly Association met in protest to Pemberton's expanding plans. Accordingly, they framed a letter to him which stated: "We are fully satisfied, in our judgment, that to prosecute thy said intentions of setting a store at Fort Cumberland at this time in the manner thou proposed is very exceptionable & will be productive of bad consequences." ⁷ Therefore, they directed Pemberton to return all goods not given to the Indians by General Forbes or to turn them over to the Provincial trading post to be established at Pittsburgh. In answer, Pemberton addressed a reply on January 15 as follows:

After doing this, consulting with the General & considering & providing the most suitable methods of conveying the goods, as far westward as will be necessary, I returned home, & have now waited near a week in expectation of hearing some of the exceptions to my proceedings, or some of the bad consequences they would be productive of, but not one of you hath made the least enquiry of me about the goods nor manifested the least concern to me on this occasion . . . if you were apprehensive of any inconveniences [you] should have been so candid, as in due time to have pointed them out; everything I did was quite open & freely communicated to several of you. . . .⁸

⁴ *Ibid.*; Pemberton Papers, XIII, 20; James Kenny's Journal, 1758, 1 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁵ Pemberton Papers, XIII, 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

Several of the trustees, it seems, were not notified of the meeting which was held just as soon as Israel left the city. The latter, however, informed the trustees that, for the sake of harmony, he was having Kenny wait for further orders before proceeding.⁹ Just how the matter was settled does not appear from the records, but it is clear that Pemberton returned the £1,500 to the Friendly Association.¹⁰ Kenny received instructions from Pemberton to proceed to Pittsburgh, and from this time the enterprise was strictly a private one.

Transportation was the most difficult problem for Kenny to solve. Truckers could be hired to carry the goods only part of the way, causing the loss of much valuable time in transit. Kenny finally reached Cumberland in the middle of February where he was joined by Samuel Lightfoot who had been directed by Pemberton to hire the necessary pack horses and bring them to Cumberland. In all, about thirty-five horses were used to carry the goods to a landing on the Monongahela, where bateaux from Pittsburgh were to convey the goods the remaining distance.

The next lap of the journey was beset with even greater difficulties and hardships. They were now far beyond the settlements, and except for the hospitality of an occasional trader in his wilderness abode, they slept in hollow trees and fared on wild life including bear and turkey. To their exasperation the horses would break loose and wander away in the night to be lost for days while the men searched the woods for them. Many horses had to be given up and left to become the prey of wolves. Rain and floods likewise caused no end of trouble, and days were spent in drying coats and blankets, oiling hatchets and knives, and repacking. After untold trial and hardship, the party finally reached Pittsburgh on April 30, 1759 with most of the goods undamaged.

Kenny did not turn over the goods to the commanding officer for distribution among the Indians as presents as originally planned. Instead, he immediately set to work bartering for furs and dispatching the bundles of beaver, mink, otter, and other pelts back up the Monongahela and on to his employer in Philadel-

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ The Schwenkfelder money was afterward used to purchase the return of captives among the Indians.

phia.¹¹ This fact, however, does not open Pemberton to a charge of going into the trade from a purely profit motive. While the goods were being transported slowly from the Susquehanna to Fort Cumberland, Pemberton had several conversations with General Forbes, who approved selling the goods to the Indians unless they were needed for a treaty, in which case Pemberton would be reimbursed by the Crown.¹² In July Kenny received word from Pemberton that four more wagonloads valued at £3,000 were on the way to Pittsburgh.¹³ This consignment was sent on the representation of Generals Forbes and Stanwix, who were anxious to keep the Indians satisfied and to have goods on hand in case a treaty could be arranged with them.¹⁴ Soon 20,000 pieces of wampum arrived from Pemberton, of which Croghan, who was now at Pittsburgh, demanded half for treaty or other official services.¹⁵ Croghan, ostensibly acting solely in an official capacity, soon was found to be deep in the Indian trade, and Kenny apparently suspected him of wanting the wampum for trading.¹⁶

It was apparent in the summer of 1759 that Pemberton's consignments were insufficient to meet the demand for goods among the Indians. In August Colonel Bouquet informed Croghan that General Stanwix had requested Pemberton and the Indian Commissioners "to send with the utmost diligence large quantities of goods. . . ." ¹⁷ Pemberton reported to Stanwix that he had bought and dispatched more supplies as requested. A little later Bouquet explained to Israel: "We have continually 4, or 500 Indians to feed at Pittsburgh, and no Treaty can be held or Invitation given till we have a Sufficient Magazine of Provisions to Subsist them." Unless goods arrive "we must lose all the advantage obtained, with so much Pains, danger, & Expense, and the Peace with the Western Indians, . . ." ¹⁸

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹² *The Papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet*, 153, published by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1940. General Forbes died, March 1759.

¹³ Pemberton Papers, XIII, 96; Kenny's Journal, 1758, 48.

¹⁴ Pemberton Papers, XIII, 96; Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 111.

¹⁵ Kenny's Journal, 1758, 51.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* General Gage in 1764 accused Croghan of being more concerned in promoting his private interests in trade than in carrying out his duties as Indian agent. Abernethy, *op. cit.*, 26.

¹⁷ *The Papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet*, 219.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 235.

Trouble never ceased to haunt Pemberton's Pittsburgh enterprise. Rival traders stole into Kenny's store and cut some of the furs into strips, and moth larvae devoured furs faster than poor Kenny could "worm" them. Indians stole the pack horses whenever the opportunity presented, and Kenny stood in perpetual fear of having the occupants of the whole fort butchered by the Indians, sullen and maddened by the refusal of the English to abandon the Forks. Bundles of furs which escaped the ravages of moths spoiled on the long trip to Philadelphia due to careless handling by drivers who neglected to unpack and dry them after a rain.¹⁹ Kenny quit Pittsburgh early in September, disillusioned toward Indians and trade alike, and reached home in November worn out from exposure and sickness.

Despite the reduction of profits from one cause or another, Pemberton made money on his Pittsburgh enterprise. His care to insure a good return on his investment does not argue necessarily that a public service was not an aim as well as a result. The Provincial Commissioners were tardy in supplying the needs of the Indians. They acknowledged that he had supplied Pittsburgh with goods when they were unable to do so. The English generals appreciated the aid which Pemberton rendered; and the Indians, who already regretted having deserted the French, were afforded at last one reason for maintaining a truce with the English. Even the trustees of the Friendly Association now admitted the wisdom of the undertaking, and harmony was restored.

Pemberton withdrew from the fur trade soon after the Provincial store was established at Pittsburgh. The Commissioners, headed by John Reynell, had received £24,000 from the Assembly for Indian expenses since October 1758, and now were enjoying the hearty support of the British authorities.²⁰ In July, Pemberton registered the pleasure which the prospect of a new day in Indian trade gave the Quakers. "The minds of our superiors are now inclined to promote a work we have had so much at heart & laboured thro' many difficulties to carry on in its beginning; I am very desirous one may not faint or be indifferent, in affording any assistance we can give to ye perfecting it, . . ." ²¹

¹⁹ Kenny's Journal, 1758, 58.

²⁰ *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, IV, 297; V, 288.

²¹ Pemberton Papers, XIII, 96.

The Provincial stores at Pittsburgh and Shamokin generally failed in fulfilling the purpose of a yardstick for the Indian trade. The stock in the stores depended upon legislative appropriations, causing them often to be embarrassed for want of goods. Their prices were too inflexible, resulting invariably in a loss of business or money. The agents, lacking a personal interest in the enterprise, often grossly mismanaged the stores. The Commission on Indian trade functioned badly due largely to divided counsel and lack of a responsible head. When Pemberton was zealously pushing his supplies forward in the dead of winter, Provincial goods destined for Pittsburgh were abandoned by an agent at Carlisle and lay there for months.²² In a letter of November 1760, James Pemberton declared: "Private persons now run away with it [fur trade] to ye manifest prejudice of ye Provincial stores & the irregularities formerly complained of are introduced apace, it is feared there have not been less than 200 hhds [hogsheads] of rum gone up to Pittsburgh this year. . . ." ²³ The experiment had proved, he thought, that the only solution lay in a Parliamentary law regulating the trade.

James Kenny operated the Provincial store at Pittsburgh from April 1761 until Pontiac's warriors broke loose in the spring of 1763. That the stores partially fulfilled their purpose appears from Kenny's diary in an observation that when the post was discontinued the traders would start "skinning" the Indians again.²⁴ Captain Trent, fur trader, was jubilant when he heard a report that the store was to be abolished. "No more Quakerism on this side ye Allegheny Mountains," was Trent's ejaculation.²⁵

How completely Pennsylvania's Indian policy had failed to win the friendship of the western Indians was revealed by the outbreak of the Pontiac war in 1763. That the Pennsylvania experiment in regulating the Indian trade was ended was apparent by an order for the Commissioners to dispose of all goods and close out by 1765. From 1766 to 1769 the British government attempted to regulate the trade through its Northern and Southern Indian departments but the project was abandoned as a failure and the

²² *Ibid.*; Israel Pemberton to John Hunt, March 22, 1759, Pemberton Papers, Box 3.

²³ Pemberton Papers, XIV, 71-72.

²⁴ Kenny's Journal, December 25, 1761.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1762.

problem returned to the colonies with the recommendation that they set up an inter-colonial agency.²⁶ The suggestion was favorably received by most of the colonies, but little progress had been made toward joint regulation when the Revolution put an end to further deliberation.

While Indian treaties and conferences were demanding the attention of public-minded Pennsylvanians, the old executive-legislative controversy persistently dogged Provincial politics. A break occurred in the usual deadlock in 1757, when Governor Denny, supported by Lord Loudoun (who considered the Proprietary interest a secondary one), violated his instructions and signed money bills drawn to Assembly specifications.²⁷ Bills were allowed not only for a great expansion in the paper money but for taxing the Proprietary estates. In fact, under stress of war between 1755 and 1760, Pennsylvania added £485,000 in bills of credit to its pre-war supply of £80,000 in addition to raising £100,000 by taxing all estates including those of the Proprietors.²⁸ As a result in 1759, Thomas Penn relieved Denny of his governorship and persuaded James Hamilton again to accept the uncomfortable office.

Hamilton found that he was practically forced to do as Denny had done when imperial interests were at stake. In signing a bill for furnishing 2,700 soldiers with clothing and wages, Hamilton declared that he had been obliged to violate his own judgment and sacrifice the interests of the Proprietors.²⁹ He was hardly more successful than Denny on the question of the taxation of the Proprietary estates, a matter of which he thoroughly approved in principle, asking only for assurances that the Proprietors would not be discriminated against. But, like Denny, he was forced to give in and sign a bill in consequence of the pressing need of defense.³⁰

A petition for action on the case for the Delaware Indians was made to the Privy Council by Benjamin Franklin early in 1759.

²⁶ G. A. Cribbs, *The Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania*, 31; *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, VII, 339-341.

²⁷ *Colonial Records*, VII, 565-566; H. Jenkins, *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal*, I, 459.

²⁸ W. F. Root, *The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696-1765*, 216; *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, IV, 379-396; Jenkins, *op. cit.*, I, 516.

²⁹ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, IX, 132; *Colonial Records*, VIII, 481.

³⁰ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 479-482.

The Council referred the matter to the Board of Trade which reported in June that Sir William Johnson should be instructed to examine the evidence and report his findings to the British government.³¹ In August the Privy Council adopted the suggestion of the Board of Trade, thus returning the dispute to America to become again an issue to fan political animosities and prejudices.³²

No new developments of importance in Indian affairs arose in Pennsylvania in 1759. Teedyuscung came to Philadelphia in December with four captives and messages from the Ohio Indians inviting him to the treaty at Pittsburgh scheduled for the ensuing spring. Israel Pemberton wanted the treaty held in Philadelphia and had on foot a plan for a meeting of all the Indians who formerly had lived in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey for the purpose of asserting their independence of the Six Nations and electing Teedyuscung chief of all the clans. This would atone, Pemberton wrote Hunt, for the affront Teedyuscung had received at Easton in 1758. With this accomplished, Pemberton planned to have the Indians avow never to allow their claims to be adjudicated by Sir William Johnson.³³ In March 1760, Governor Hamilton gave Teedyuscung a note from Johnson inviting him to name a time and place for inquiring into his claims according to the direction of the Privy Council. Teedyuscung angrily replied that he would have nothing to do with Sir William Johnson but gladly would consent to have Hamilton make the investigation.³⁴

As it turned out, Pemberton failed to maneuver the conference to Philadelphia, and early in the spring Teedyuscung and Frederick Post left for Pittsburgh carrying peace belts from the Pennsylvania government. The Friendly Association appropriated £50 toward fitting out Post and Teedyuscung for the treaty.³⁵ Teedyuscung's conduct at Pittsburgh was such as soon to divest him of any influence he may have had on coming. He was drunk from morning till night, while the belts and strings provided him

³¹ Franklin to Pemberton, March 19, 1759, *Catalogue of the Proud Papers, 1903*; Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 78; Etting Collection: Miscellaneous Papers, I, 101.

³² Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 80.

³³ Israel Pemberton to John Hunt, December 4, 1759, Pemberton Papers, Box 3.

³⁴ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 507-508.

³⁵ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 116.

by the Friendly Association soon adorned the squaws for whom he had taken a fancy. His fellow Delawares of the Ohio treated him with the utmost disdain. Now that his Quaker advisers were not present, Richard Peters declared, Teedyuscung had shown himself in his true character—"a senseless, low, drunken wretch."³⁶

In July 1761, nearly five hundred Delawares, Iroquois, and subsidiary Indians appeared at Easton and sent notice to Philadelphia, that they had come for a treaty. Governor Hamilton professed not to know why they had come: he had not called them and no one else had a right to do so. He did not doubt but that Israel Pemberton was at the bottom of it, but now they were here he dared not refuse to treat with his uninvited guests.³⁷ As special guests Pemberton had his Quaker Indians from Wyalusing who were avowed pacifists, would not touch liquor, and in many respects could set an example for the best of Christians. To the general astonishment these Indians at the close of the conference refused to take presents from the Governor, eschewing the riches of this world.³⁸

Never did Israel Pemberton better manage a treaty. Teedyuscung first threatened to leave Wyoming if the Six Nations did not give him a deed to the land and then turned to Governor Hamilton and demanded that Pennsylvania pay the Delawares for the land taken from them by fraud.³⁹ At this point a prominent Oneida chief arose and asked the Governor to settle with the Delawares as Teedyuscung desired. But Hamilton was ready with an answer. "Had you known," he informed the Oneida, "as well as I do, how groundless and unjust this claim of theirs was I am sure you would not have taken any notice of it."⁴⁰ The next day Hamilton told Teedyuscung his claim must be handled by Sir William Johnson, and thus collapsed Pemberton's grand stragem to anticipate Johnson and force a settlement by the Province while it still could be done to the credit of the Quakers. Doubt-

³⁶ Charlmer Collection: Philadelphia, I, 38 (New York Public Library).

³⁷ Peters MSS, V, 108; *Colonial Records*, VIII, 630.

³⁸ Proud, *op. cit.*, II, 320-325.

³⁹ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 636; Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 95.

⁴⁰ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 653. Hamilton informed Johnson in 1760 that he would hold the inquiry on the Indian claims if Johnson desired it, and that he would see to it that the Quakers were kept out of it. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, 522.

lessly by this time Pemberton knew that no matter how plausible the Delaware claim might be, sufficient proof was lacking and that an inquiry by Johnson would surely go against the Delawares.

Failing in the major play, Israel Pemberton had still another to make. In the name of the Senecas, Cayugas, Delawares, and others present, a noted chief of one of the smaller tribes asked Governor Hamilton to draft a deed for Wyoming to the Delawares and send it by some of the Iroquois present to Onondaga to await the pleasure of the Six Nations. Again Hamilton declined on the logic that it would be impolitic to interfere in the Wyoming question.⁴¹ Pemberton had utterly failed to attain the ends sought mainly for two reasons: Governor Hamilton was a stronger man than his predecessor, and the desperate need to placate the Indians had passed. Three years before, when the French still were in the Ohio, Pemberton could have forced a settlement on his terms, but in 1761 Pennsylvania was ready to risk again giving offense to the Indians.

Early in 1762, Sir William Johnson informed Richard Peters that unless Teedyuscung signified his desire to have the claim investigated by him, he would be compelled to report the matter to England.⁴² In April, Teedyuscung came to Philadelphia and acquiesced to having Johnson hold the inquiry in June but not long after he returned to Hamilton and without offering much of an excuse said he had changed his mind and would not meet Johnson.⁴³ Surviving records fail to give a clue as to why Teedyuscung changed his mind so fast but there is little doubt that he had been to see Israel Pemberton who now preferred to have the dispute dropped rather than brought before Johnson. However, Pemberton apparently gave in and plans for a conference were presently made. From Johnson's report to the Board of Trade it would seem that Pemberton endeavored to quash the inquiry by sending a last minute message advising the Delawares not to attend the conference.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 660. About this time the Crown attorney general made a statement to the effect that Wyoming had been surrendered to the Delawares in perpetuity. Peters warned Penn to keep the statement from the Quakers if at all possible. See J. P. Boyd, *Susquehanna Papers*, II, 100.

⁴² *Johnson Papers*, III, 639.

⁴³ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 708.

⁴⁴ *Johnson Papers*, III, 846.

Governor Hamilton appointed Richard Peters and Benjamin Chew to present the Proprietor's case at the conference, and the Assembly sent Sir William Johnson papers in support of the Delaware claim.⁴⁵ By June 17, about one hundred Delawares as well as Sir William Johnson, Governor Hamilton, Richard Peters, Benjamin Chew, Israel Pemberton, members of the Council and Assembly, and many Quakers were in Easton waiting for the conference to open upon the arrival of the interpreters. Teedyuscung had been dead drunk up until the time Pemberton arrived, but the latter was more annoyed by the fact that Johnson, Hamilton, and Croghan were so close mouthed about their plans, though affable enough.⁴⁶

The conference opened on the nineteenth when Teedyuscung, as now was his habit, asked for a clerk. Johnson tried to reason with him by explaining that the Provincial secretary was authorized by the King to take the minutes, but Teedyuscung stood firm. Finally Teedyuscung acquiesced in having Peters read the minutes aloud as he took them down.⁴⁷ The Delaware chief then stated his claims against the Proprietors, whereupon Johnson fired several questions at him regarding the time, place, and persons involved in the transactions under consideration,⁴⁸ but Teedyuscung wisely declined answering the questions until he had held a council with his tribesmen. The next day the counsellors for the Proprietors read deeds, papers, and affidavits in support of the Proprietary case. The following day Johnson launched a barrage of questions upon Teedyuscung which, if answered satisfactorily, required a refutation of the very technical presentation of the Proprietary case as offered by Peters and Chew. Israel Pemberton was furious; he arose and speaking with great warmth exclaimed that as

Sir William had appeal'd to the By-Standers for the truth of this matter he thought himself oblig'd to declare, that Teedyuscung said no such thing, and that the Minutes were not fairly taken: that many material Things which Teedyuscung had said were altogether omitted and other Things misrepresented: that it was unjust and unreasonable, to

⁴⁵ Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 100, 105.

⁴⁶ Drinker and Sandwich Family Papers, II, 48 (Private Collection).

⁴⁷ *Johnson Papers*, III, 766.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 767.

call on Teedyuscung to answer a number of Title Deeds and Proofs, produced yesterday on the part of the Proprietaries, which took up three Hours and a Half of reading, especially as they were wrote in English, not one Sentence of which Teedyuscung understood to his certain Knowledge; . . . that the lives of the Inhabitants, and the Peace and Welfare of the Province were concerned in having this matter fully heard, and that if Sir William wou'd not do them Justice, They wou'd not suffer the matter to rest here, *but wou'd Complain Home*; . . .⁴⁹

Johnson was now quite as angry as Pemberton and loudly demanded what right the Quaker had to interfere with the proceedings. Whereupon, Israel retorted: " 'that, he is a freeman, and had as much Right to speak as the Governor. That it was unjust to deny Teedyuscung a Clerk, which was his natural Right—That He had as much right to appoint a Clerk, as Sir William.' Sir William then observ'd that, 'He plainly saw through what Channel Teedyuscung conducted his Business, and had taken Notice that He was constantly nurs'd and Entertain'd at Pemberton's,' . . . to which Israel reply'd 'that Teedyuscung was as much with Sir William, as with Him.' " ⁵⁰

Joseph Galloway, a rising member of the Assembly, then came to Pemberton's aid and asked Johnson for a copy of the Proprietary brief, which Johnson refused with the flimsy excuse "he did not think it right to give any Copy of the proceedings, less they shou'd be in every Body's hands, before He cou'd make his Report to His Majesty."⁵¹ To this Israel Pemberton replied that as freemen they had a right to demand open proceedings and a copy of the Proprietary statement, but Johnson retorted that he had definite instructions against allowing private persons to interfere at treaties. Sir William, having had quite enough of open debate, endeavored to resume proceedings, but the Quakers refused to be quieted, whereupon Johnson angrily declared the council was adjourned for the day.⁵² Later that day Johnson had the Indians with him in private, ostensibly for the purpose of explaining the deeds and papers to them.⁵³ The next day the Quakers were ready for Johnson, and at the public conference

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 772-773.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 773. Johnson is reported to have drawn his sword on Israel at one time during the negotiations.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, III, 774.

⁵² *Ibid.*, III, 775.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, III, 776.

Teedyuscung presented him with a complete history of his claim with supporting papers, while not failing to ask again for a clerk. Evidently the Quakers were confusing the Colonel for again he precipitously adjourned the meeting, while about all he had to say the following day was that he would brook no interference on the part of unauthorized persons.⁵⁴

Meanwhile the anti-Quaker faction was tireless in its endeavor to induce the Delawares to retract the charge against the Proprietors. Johnson sincerely believed the charge to be false and developed, if not instigated, by the Quakers: a fact which caused him to maintain but a thinly veiled appearance of impartiality. It is not surprising, therefore, that on June 28, 1762, the dispute of six years' standing suddenly was brought to a close when Teedyuscung publicly withdrew his charges of fraud. But the retraction did not constitute an unequivocal victory for the Proprietary party, inasmuch as Teedyuscung made it plain that the Delawares still considered that the boundary as established by the "Walk" of 1737 was not the one intended by the Indians under the terms of the release. The men who performed the "Walk" may or may not consciously have taken advantage of the Delawares, but in either case, it was acknowledged by Teedyuscung that the Penns never had wilfully cheated them.⁵⁵ The Quakers also could point to the fact that the Delawares were to be paid £1,200, one half of which would be appropriated by the Assembly and the Proprietors alike.⁵⁶ However, the settlement was a major defeat for the Quakers inasmuch as Teedyuscung's retraction shattered their

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 778-785.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 786; Penn MSS: Indian Affairs, 1757-1772, 104. Much has been made of the belief that the "Walkers" could not have covered fifty or sixty miles fairly in the time allotted, but it should be remembered the Delaware claim was only forty-two miles wide, a distance capable of being performed in a day and a half. See C. H. Sipe, *Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, 112-117; Boyd, *Susquehanna Papers*, II, 159-163. The weightiest point in favor of the Delaware claim was that wherein they declared the line should have been drawn parallel to the Delaware River thus leaving a large section to the Indians. That Thomas Penn was not above taking advantage of the vagueness of treaty boundaries is seen by his letter to Governor Morris wherein he asked the latter to write releases from the Six Nations in general terms so the Proprietors could claim as far north as the forty-third parallel. See Thomas Penn to Governor Morris, July 2, 1755, Pennsylvania Miscellaneous MSS, 1660-1775 (Library of Congress). On the other hand it may be asked why the Quakers did not register a vigorous protest when the "Walk" was made in 1737 with the approbation of James Logan, the Quaker secretary for the Penns.

⁵⁶ Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 116. The Friendly Association gave the Delawares an additional £300.

thesis that the Delaware war had been caused by Indian grievances, leaving the Quakers once again without an answer to the accusation that unpreparedness and pacifism were the major causes of Pennsylvania's recent disaster.

In his report to the Board of Trade, Sir William Johnson placed most of the blame for Teedyuscung's charge and persistent demands during the past six years at the door of Israel Pemberton. He sent affidavits to show that "all that Teedyuscung said on the 22^d June was by the direction of *Israel Pemberton* . . . and . . . that Teedyuscung declared that the Quakers and Nutimus, a chief of the Jersey Indians, had made him a great man, and persuaded him to say what he had heretofore said respecting the Proprietors of Pennsylvania. . . ." ⁵⁷ Johnson concluded it was impossible to conduct public affairs with the Indians so long as the Quakers remained unbridled, a statement which prompted His Majesty's government to issue an order against further interference by private persons or agencies in Indian affairs.

As previously mentioned, the German Pietists had placed a large sum of money in the hands of Israel Pemberton and the Friendly Association for securing peace with the Indians and redeeming their relatives and friends carried off as captives. James Kenny, while agent for the Provincial Store at Pittsburgh, labored under the direction of Israel Pemberton and the Friendly Association for the restoration of captives. Quite a number of captives were brought to Lancaster in 1762 and restored to their friends and relatives, but in many cases the captives did not appreciate the efforts to return them, having no desire to be readmitted to the "advantages" of civilization. John Pemberton noted that five of the captives brought to Lancaster were quite young and "as wild as any Indians." ⁵⁸ Some were brought in, bound, and confined in the Lancaster jail until relatives or friends escorted them home: others broke away and wandered back through the wilderness to their home among the Indians.

James Kenny tried to show Israel Pemberton that his efforts to restore captives was not an unmixed blessing. He wrote to Pemberton:

⁵⁷ *Johnson Papers*, III, 847.

⁵⁸ Smith MSS, VI, 28.

There seems to me some tye or difficulty in respect of ye prisoners as now they are become as one flesh & blood with ye Indians, . . . chiefly by their own election; they want to stay amongst them. Many of ye young men have told me they were at their liberty to goe where they pleas'd; now considering ye force of natural affection . . . to pull ye child from ye mother & ye wife from ye husband, etc. will require more impressions than yet has been made in requesting them, . . .⁵⁹

What Kenny described was invariably the case when captives had grown up among the Indians. Many others, however, carried on a miserable existence during their captivity and were in some instances mistreated. Kenny described the case of a woman who had been held in a Shawnee town and kept hard at work and even hired out to others.⁶⁰ In July 1762, Kenny noted in his journal that the Delawares had collected about fifty captives at Pittsburgh (about half of those held by them) to take to the Lancaster treaty, but some of the captives had already hidden themselves or broken away and gone back to the Indian towns.⁶¹

James Kenny observed that the Ohio Indians, returning from a conference held at Lancaster in 1762, were generally dissatisfied; in fact it seemed to him that nothing less than the evacuation of the western forts by the English would placate them. The release of western Pennsylvania to the Indians had for a time allayed their resentment, and in 1760 Pennsylvania had taken a second step in passing an act prohibiting any white man from hunting on land not purchased from the Indians.⁶² In 1761, the Privy Council confirmed the Easton treaty, and Colonel Bouquet issued a proclamation to the effect that the action by the Easton treaty and the Privy Council had prohibited any settling or hunting west of the Allegheny Mountains and that violators would be subject to trial by court-martial.⁶³

How much influence Israel Pemberton had in converting the British government to the principle of a boundary between the English and the Indians is problematical. After Dr. Fothergill had taken Pemberton's recommendation to Lord Granville, Israel

⁵⁹ Cox, Parrish, Wharton Collection, XII.

⁶⁰ Pemberton Papers, XV, 147.

⁶¹ Kenny's Journal, July 7, 1762.

⁶² *Colonial Records*, VIII, 484.

⁶³ *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, III, 571-574; K. P. Bailey, *The Ohio Company of Virginia and the Westward Movement*, 223, 227.

continued to write his London friends urging them to press the plan upon the Ministry. In a letter of March 1760 addressed to Hunt and Fothergill, he insisted that "to establish peace on a durable foundation depends principally on the assurances to be given them of a boundary being fixed for the English settlements, & that they shall have a country left them sufficient for their support in their wandering way of living."⁶⁴

Notwithstanding the Treaty of Easton and Bouquet's proclamation, the Indians were not convinced, and the volcanic character of the Indian relations was apparent to anyone on the frontier. The uprising led by the Ottawa chief, Pontiac, came in the early summer of 1763, causing the frontier to be again drenched in blood and all the horrors of 1755-1756 to be repeated.⁶⁵ The Proclamation of 1763, giving the appearance of permanency to the Easton treaty and Bouquet's order, came as a British attempt to forestall the impending uprising.⁶⁶ It came too late. However, in all probability it would not have broken the conspiracy if it had come earlier, for the soldiers and forts remained to plague the Indians. The Proclamation of 1763 set the crest of the Alleghenies along their entire length, from New York to Georgia, as the boundary between the English and the Indians, west of which no settlements could be made.⁶⁷ Thus, belatedly, the British government adopted the plan which Israel Pemberton and his Friendly Association had advocated for so long.

People on the Pennsylvania frontier, especially the Scots-Irish, charged that many of the half-civilized Indians living near Bethlehem and Lancaster not only at times harbored warring Indians and furnished them with ammunition and implements of war but also joined in scalping raids against the English. Furthermore, the

⁶⁴ Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 98. It has been said that Colonel Bouquet and General Amherst favored spreading smallpox among the Indians by giving them infected blankets. Some of these blankets actually were given the Indians shortly before Pontiac's outbreak. See Sipe, *op. cit.*, 423-424.

⁶⁵ See F. Parkman, *Pontiac's Conspiracy*.

⁶⁶ James Pemberton to Joseph Phipps, November 15, 1763, Parrish, *Friendly Association, Sequel*: Pemberton Papers. Lord Shelburne of the Board of Trade reported the main features for the Proclamation on June 8, 1763. It was issued by the Ministry, October 4, 1763. See O. M. Dickerson, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*, 348.

⁶⁷ H. S. Commager, *Documents in American History*, No. 33.

frontier felt that to a large degree the Quakers and Assembly were responsible for the suffering and destruction by failing to provide adequately for the defense of the Province.

More than any other man, Israel Pemberton epitomized all that the West resented in the East. They thought of Pemberton as the man who for years had befriended the enemies of the West and was again doing everything in his power to protect the Indians at the expense of the frontier. They charged that some of the very Indians whom Pemberton "hugs to his bosom" were with those who fought Bouquet at Bushy Run and ravaged the frontier.⁶⁸ Pemberton thus found himself in the position of Daniel Gookin of Massachusetts seventy-five years before. The latter was denounced in the most violent terms for shielding the "Praying Indians" of Massachusetts from the rabble who during King Philip's War were bent upon exterminating all Indians. Gookin was labeled "an Irish dog," and "a traitor." His life was threatened and he was mocked and abused on the streets in Boston.⁶⁹

Threats against the two hundred or so Moravian Indians at Bethlehem became so alarming that in November they were taken to Philadelphia for protection. So as not to have the score of Conestoga Indians near Lancaster escape them in like fashion, a mob of irate pioneers fell upon them and murdered them in cold blood—men, women and children.⁷⁰ The maddened frontiersmen then vowed they would go to Philadelphia and do the same to the Moravian Indians. As it was, the Indians were not much more secure in Philadelphia than on the frontier, the rabble being quite as incensed against them as the pioneers. The Indians were placed on a small island in the Delaware a short distance from the city, but, apprehending that they were in momentary danger, the Governor, at the suggestion of Israel Pemberton, removed them to ships so that they could escape if attacked. Cannon were placed upon the decks while arms were placed in the hands of the Indians and

⁶⁸ Charlmer Collection: Philadelphia, II, 54.

⁶⁹ W. C. McLeod, *The American Indian Frontier*, 244.

⁷⁰ Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 93-94. A captain with a company of Highlanders then in Lancaster offered to protect the Indians, but the town authorities ignored the proposal. See T. F. Gordon, *A History of Pennsylvania from Its Discovery by Europeans to 1776*, 405.

sailors by no less a person than Israel Pemberton. "I. P. was generalissimo on this occasion," reads a memorandum of which Peters probably was the author.⁷¹

It soon was thought better to send the bewildered Indians to Sir William Johnson in New York, and the poor wretches in the dead of winter were tramped and carted across New Jersey under guard of British regulars, but on reaching Amboy were forced to return to Philadelphia by the refusal of the Governor of New York to admit them. In Philadelphia they languished until February 1765, when they were returned to Bethlehem and Wyalusing after nearly half of them had died of fever and smallpox.⁷² Upon their return to Philadelphia reports came that a mob of one thousand or more frontiersmen was collecting to march on the city and seize the Indians, together with Israel Pemberton, the arch enemy of the West. Leaders of the western mob declared they had proof that Pemberton had conspired with the Indians for a war upon the pioneers; that he had given the Indians "a Rod to scourge the white people who settled on their lands."⁷³ The invasion of the "Paxton Boys," as the westerners were termed, was preceded by a pamphlet war. Franklin and others wrote in behalf of the Moravian Indians, and Israel Pemberton directed the writing and printing of pamphlets in vindication of the Quakers.⁷⁴

Matters came to a head in February 1764, when over five hundred "Paxton Boys" reached the Schuylkill. Philadelphia already was an armed camp, cannon were placed in the streets, buildings were turned into forts, and even Quakers were seen toting muskets, pistols, and sabers.⁷⁵ The Friends Meeting House, strange to say, at one time was occupied by armed men, although the Quak-

⁷¹ Charlmer Collection: Philadelphia, II, 54.

⁷² Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 94-97.

⁷³ *Votes of Pennsylvania Assembly*, V, 313-316; A. D. Graeff, *The Relations Between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities (1750-1776)*, 203. The frontier case is presented in a pamphlet entitled: *The Apology of the Paxton Volunteers*, 1764 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁷⁴ A. Graydon, *Memoirs*, 41; Smith MSS, VI, 111; Pemberton Papers, XVII, 2. Franklin condemned the Paxton men as ignorant and savage brutes. In reality many of them or at least their supporters were of the most substantial element of the West. See Gordon, *op. cit.*, 407; C. Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, 308-310.

⁷⁵ Graydon, *op. cit.*, 34. Quakers who took up arms were reprimanded by the Monthly Meeting. It was found that they were mostly youths to the number of one hundred forty. Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 130.

ers afterward explained that the men had been stationed in the rain and were allowed to come into the Meeting House solely to protect them from the elements.⁷⁶

Before the Paxton demonstrators reached Germantown, Israel Pemberton had had repeated warnings.⁷⁷ A letter from Lancaster declared that the rioters would kill Pemberton, Fox, and others if they fell into their hands, and word reached Philadelphia on February 6, when the mob was still twenty-five miles from the city, that they would demand the delivery of Israel Pemberton to them. Responsible people were much alarmed, and a number of gentlemen representing the city hurried to Pemberton and begged him to leave without delay, which after some hesitation, he consented to do.⁷⁸ The next day the Paxton men were met at Germantown by Franklin and a number of prominent citizens who worked out a peace whereby the westerners consented to go home on the pledge that the Assembly would afford them speedy relief.⁷⁹ The presence of three companies of King's troops sent by General Gage was believed by John Penn, then Governor of Pennsylvania, to have had a mollifying effect upon them as well.⁸⁰

By this time the Indian War had practically run its course, and British soldiers had regained control of the strategic forts. In April, Sir William Johnson sent word to Philadelphia that he had four hundred friendly Indians on their way to western Pennsylvania who would speedily free the Province of skulking Indians.⁸¹

The Paxton uprising dramatically revealed the growing sectionalism in Pennsylvania. One of the grievances named by the leaders of the West was their unequal representation in the Pennsylvania Assembly. In March 1764, the five western counties prepared petitions calling for a reapportionment of representatives.⁸² Politically the repercussions of the Paxton uprising were immedi-

⁷⁶ Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 128.

⁷⁷ Wright to Whitlock, January 16, 1764, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

⁷⁸ Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 128.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, XVII, 10.

⁸⁰ Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, IX, 216. During the excitement John Penn was said to have fled to the home of Benjamin Franklin for safety. See Gordon, *op. cit.*, 407.

⁸¹ Smith MSS, VI, 143. In July, Governor John Penn offered a reward for Indian scalps, and in the fall Bouquet reached the Ohio with two thousand troops causing the natives to sue for peace. See Gordon, *op. cit.*, 435-436.

⁸² Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, IX, 216.

ate and of far-reaching consequences. A political alignment of the underprivileged in the city of Philadelphia with a dissatisfied West clearly was foreshadowed.

As a functioning organization the Friendly Association did not survive the Paxton affair, in fact by 1763 its life had practically ebbed away, receiving in that year but £30 in donations.⁸³ Although Israel Pemberton had played his last major part in Indian relations, the memory of their great Quaker brother lingered in the minds of the natives for many years. Indians far beyond the Ohio would inquire about their friend Israel when travelers from Philadelphia visited the West. In 1770, Indians from the trans-Allegheny visited Friends in Philadelphia bringing belts of wampum and requesting them to use their influence with the Governor in behalf of the Indians. The Quakers did so, and Pemberton loaded the Indians with blankets, kettles, buttons, and other articles upon their leaving.⁸⁴ In 1772 the few remaining pacifist Indians of Wyalusing came to Philadelphia to tell the Quakers that they were moving to the Ohio, whereupon Philadelphia Friends gave their copper-skinned brethren £100 to equip them for the journey to their new home.⁸⁵ The following year several Quakers paid the Indians in the trans-Allegheny country a visit and read to them a long religious letter from their great brother, Israel Pemberton.⁸⁶

That Israel Pemberton failed to translate the Friendly Association from an organization dedicated to restore peace with the Indians to one pledged to carry civilization to them is not surprising. His reverses at the recent conferences, the failure of the Provincial stores, the renewal of the hostilities by Pontiac, the royal disfavor for Quaker participation in Indian affairs, and a consequent cooling among Friends toward entering any engagements likely to involve the Society with the Crown authorities, brought the Association to a speedy close in 1763. The period 1757-1762 was the logical time for the Friendly Association to have begun a

⁸³ Gratz Collection, Case 17, Box 7.

⁸⁴ Israel to John Pemberton, October 17, 1770, Cox, Parrish, Wharton Collection, XI; Pemberton Papers, XXI, 103.

⁸⁵ Collectanea: Jonah Thompson, II, August 8, 1772 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁸⁶ Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, I, 386-389, 395.

work of civilizing the Susquehanna Indians, but although thousands of pounds were spent on winning the friendship of the natives, very little was appropriated for the improvement of their welfare. No doubt the confusion of the times affords a partial explanation, but the difficulty of finding persons willing and able to perform the work presented a more serious obstacle, which was heightened by a disinclination on the part of many of the Indians to receive missionaries and teachers.

After the close of the French and Indian War, the problems facing any attempt to introduce civilizing agencies among the Indians were altered but little. James Kenny wrote to Israel Pemberton in 1760 that it might now "be a likely time to prevail with them to suffer schools to be begun amongst them. . . ." ⁸⁷ Pemberton took the cue, and, with the aid of Friendly Association funds, induced Frederick Post, the Moravian missionary, to settle among the Ohio Indians. ⁸⁸ The difficulty in the way of doing much for the Indians is gained from observations made by Post and Kenny, both of whom presently left their posts, disillusioned and discouraged with what seemed a hopeless task. ⁸⁹

Notwithstanding all this, in 1773, Ohio Indians sent the following appeal to the Quakers. "We are poor & weak & not able to judge for ourselves, and when we think of our poor children, it makes us sorry. We hope you will instruct us, in the right way, both in things of this life, as well as the world to come, . . ." ⁹⁰ Now, indeed, it would seem that the Quakers would send them teachers, but Israel Pemberton found it necessary to confess to the Indians that "it was not in our power in our own time & will to comply with their request." ⁹¹ The answer may convey a state of apathy or even indifference on the part of Friends toward helping the natives. Actually, the Quakers had no ministers or teachers with sufficient knowledge of Indian languages and customs to go among the Indians: in fact, it was with difficulty that

⁸⁷ Pemberton Papers, XIV, 84. About this time the Quakers were sending some of their female preachers among the less remote Indians. See Boyd, *Susquehanna Papers*, II, 118.

⁸⁸ Israel Pemberton to Abel James, November 22, 1773, Thomson Collection: Miscellaneous Section, Pemberton Papers.

⁸⁹ See Kenny's Journal, 1760-1763.

⁹⁰ Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, I, July 28, 1773.

⁹¹ Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 19.

they found enough teachers to conduct the few schools established in Quaker communities.⁹² But, although inclined to be fatalistic and to believe that all depended on the will of God, Pemberton turned once again to London Friends and fellow idealists for help. A letter to London Quakers dated 1774 sheds some light on the subject. "Your kind intimation of some assistance being likely to be given by you towards establishing schools in the remote settlements of Friends & among the Indians, when we have entered into suitable measures for carrying on that necessary work [is gratifying]." ⁹³ This flicker of life, however, was snuffed out by the Revolution, and a revival of Quaker interest in the Indians awaited the closing decade of the century.

In a message to the Indians in 1777, when a prisoner at Winchester, Israel revealed the difficulty in finding a suitable missionary for the Indians: "We have not forgot their desire of a school-master & much enquiry hath been made for one, but none that we could recommend as patterns of sobriety & holy living have yet been willing to go." ⁹⁴ It was this failure to find persons willing and able to carry on the work among the Indians which led Pemberton to believe that the most likely solution was to have Indian youths trained in Quaker schools to become missionaries and teachers to their people. This accounts for the great zeal with which he scoured the country for young Indians and at his own expense put them to school. Unfortunately, there seem to be no records to show whether the Indians long remained in school or whether any of them carried out the purpose of the undertaking.

No one seemed to sense at the time how rapid would be the march of the frontier and how soon the Indians would be forced to abandon their hunting existence or move farther west. When Israel Pemberton was contending for a huge reservation for the few hundred Delawares, he had in mind a hunting society; in fact, his program did not envisage the Indians settling down to

⁹² The Moravians produced the most successful Indian missionaries of the eighteenth-century. Foremost of these were Post, Spangenberg, Nitschman, and Zeisberger. See O. Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*, 169. The Presbyterians were not without men interested in the welfare of the Indians, prominent among whom were the Reverend Charles Beatty, the Reverend John Elder, and Daniel Brainard. See Cribbs, *op. cit.*, 18-19.

⁹³ Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, I, 430.

⁹⁴ Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 19.

an agricultural life for some generations to come.⁹⁵ Although failing to perceive how short-lived would have been his Wyoming project, Pemberton correctly judged that so long as there remained an available wilderness, few Indians would be led to abandon their old way of life.⁹⁶ Less than a decade after the French and Indian War most of the Indians of Wyoming, Wyalusing, and even the Allegheny had moved westward beyond the Ohio to better hunting grounds, causing Indian affairs to pass largely out of the hands of Pennsylvania into those of Sir William Johnson and British generals in command of the western forts. Indians affairs consequently passed from the Pennsylvania political stage to be superseded by other problems and interests as the Province entered a new and even more dynamic period of its existence.

The part played by the Quakers in Indian affairs during the French and Indian War has been generally considered of doubtful value, if not constituting an outright liability to the English cause.⁹⁷ It is true that the Pennsylvania peace overtures in which the Quakers figured so prominently succeeded in winning over or neutralizing but a relatively small number of Indians. But the critics of the Quakers have generally failed to recognize the restraining power of the peace policy on many wavering Indians as well as other positive features of a redeeming nature.

The history of Quakerism in America presents some striking comparisons in the several colonies where members of the Society were numerous. As in Pennsylvania, Quakers in Rhode Island were largely responsible for that colony's failure to give much assistance to the wars with the French.⁹⁸ For some years before the outbreak of the Indian war known as King Philip's War, the Rhode Island government was in the hands of a Quaker governor and legislature, who had taken great pains to maintain the best relations with the Narragansett Indians. Therefore, when most of

⁹⁵ Franklin likewise failed to foresee how fast the Indians would be forced to retreat before the waves of settlers.

⁹⁶ Teedyuscung was burned in his cabin at Wyoming by his old enemies, the Mohawks, a few years after his retraction of the charges against the Proprietors.

By the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768, the Six Nations sold Wyoming and a strip of land lying south of the West Branch of the Susquehanna and as far west as Pittsburgh to the Crown.

⁹⁷ Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties*, LXXXIII.

⁹⁸ H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, IV, 241, 256.

the Indians of New England made war upon the English in 1675, Rhode Island found itself confronted with quite the same predicament as Pennsylvania seventy-five years later. For a time the Rhode Island Quakers believed that the Indians would not attack the colony which had never harmed them, but they soon were forced to admit that the new generation of Indians did not differentiate between white men and considered them all inimical to their security.⁹⁹ As in Pennsylvania, the Quakers of Rhode Island were settled near the coast or on the islands in comparative safety from Indian attacks. But the Rhode Island Quaker government like the Pennsylvania, could not maintain an attitude of passive indifference toward the war and was obliged to give out military commissions to those who would organize in the defense of the Colony. The war caused a tide of opposition to rise against the Quakers, who presently lost control of the government.¹⁰⁰ A generation later in North Carolina, Quakers boldly refused to defend themselves in the face of a disastrous war with the Tuscaroras, who at one time menaced the colony with extermination.¹⁰¹

Thus pacifism itself definitely constituted a liability in the colonies wherever it was strongly entrenched. It was not in the power of the pacifists to remove the causes for Indian wars no matter how much they might desire to do so, and their policy of non-defense but left the frontier to the mercy of the savages when war came. Quakers failed to realize that the underlying cause for the Indian wars was the incompatibility of the Indian and white cultures. They failed to perceive that in a very real sense the act of creating wealth from forest and farm, in which the Quakers were so deeply concerned, inevitably led to Indian wars. The only alternative to an inevitable resurgence of Indian wars would have been to adjust the Indian to the white man's way of life before the advancing settlements were upon the natives; but this, under the prevailing conditions, was well nigh impossible to accomplish.

⁹⁹ S. H. Brockunier, *The Irrepressible Democrat Roger Williams*, 273-274.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 276; G. S. Kimball, *Providence in Colonial Times*, 90-98.

¹⁰¹ McLeod, *op. cit.*, 254.

CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES: 1763-1775

DURING the troublesome years of the French and Indian War, Israel Pemberton continued to perform many civic functions notwithstanding the pressure of Indian affairs.¹ Persons from all parts of the Province still came to him for advice and help.² In 1760 he assisted Anthony Benezet with his project to aid the French exiles from Acadia, many of whom had been dumped at Philadelphia by the British navy. Pemberton wrote the preamble for a subscription for the French refugees and gave a large donation to launch the subscription.³

After the close of the French and Indian War, he found more time to enjoy their lovely country estates with his wife and family. The country mansion in Germantown, in easy driving distance from their town house on Chestnut Street, was a favorite retreat. The summer months were usually spent at Bolton, Pemberton's large plantation about twenty-five miles from Philadelphia on the road to Trenton.⁴

Only one of Israel's sons, Joseph, outlived the father. In spite of all the fatherly advice that Israel poured upon Joseph, the son failed to conform to his father's philosophy of life—in fact he was both worldly and spoiled. Times were very bad following the French and Indian War, but still Israel made great sacrifices to furnish his sons, Joseph and Charles (the latter died in 1772) with capital and ships for the West Indian trade.⁵

¹ In 1765 Pemberton relinquished his clerkship of the Yearly Meeting to his brother James. About this time he declined accepting offices, retaining only a place on the Hospital and School boards.

² Pemberton Papers, XVII, 133.

³ Anthony Benezet to John Smith, August 1, 1760, Ridgway Library MSS; Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 45.

⁴ Pemberton also owned an estate called "Evergreen" in what is now South Philadelphia.

⁵ Pemberton Papers, XVIII, 43; XIX, 21; XXIII, 35.

When Joseph married the beautiful and wealthy Ann Galloway of Maryland in 1767, Israel warmly approved of the match. Joseph and Ann lived extravagantly among the worldly planter class, but Israel was indulgent and seems never to have withheld anything his son desired.⁶ In 1775, Joseph set free six Negroes obtained by his marriage to Ann, stipulating that the five remaining should be set free upon becoming of age.⁷ This was done, it seems, to prevent the Negroes being sold, for in less than three weeks after the manumission Joseph was bankrupt. He had been both reckless and neglectful in business, but worst of all, had fallen to gambling for large stakes. Unaware of the plight of his son, Israel was stunned by the revelation, but he willingly agreed to pay the creditors the full debt of £10,000.⁸ To liquidate his son's follies, he was subjected to no little embarrassment and with extreme difficulty met the demands of the creditors.

Israel Pemberton's early interest in schools increased with time, causing his advice and help on educational problems to be sought by many.⁹ He subsidized several private schools by paying for the schooling of children who were poor but intelligent and eager to learn.¹⁰ Crippled and Indian children, especially, were sought out and placed in school if possible.¹¹ Joel Wright in 1774 wrote Pemberton that he had taken into his school on Israel's account six white children and one Indian boy, all of whom had been supplied with the textbooks which Israel had sent.¹²

After the French and Indian War, depression coupled with British restrictions upon American economic life caused public institutions which depended largely on private donations to suffer from lack of funds. The Quaker schools which were educating fifty-five non-Quaker children without charge were forced in 1765 to rule that none but Quaker children would be taken as "free scholars"

⁶ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 46.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 178.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 114.

⁹ Pemberton Papers, XIV, 91; XXVI, 25, 111.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XV, 161; XVII, 51. One of the schools subsidized by Israel Pemberton was founded by George Churchman in 1763. He taught reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic (vulgar and decimal), algebra, trigonometry, English grammar, and book-keeping. It was a boarding school charging £18 a year.

¹¹ James Kenny to Israel Pemberton, December 19, 1766, Cox, Parrish, Wharton Collection, XI.

¹² Pemberton Papers, XXVI, 9.

until the income increased.¹³ The Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital likewise found their income shrinking at a time when the number of applicants was rising sharply.

The Hospital in 1765, already caring for over four hundred patients, was forced to turn many away.¹⁴ The following minute registers the dilemma confronting the Managers: "The want of suitable employment for the poor at this time greatly tends to augment their numbers and subjects most of these admitted to the benefit of this charity. . . ." ¹⁵ The dire distress of the poor soon caused the Managers of the Hospital to petition the Assembly for the erection of a House of Employment. The Assembly gave the petition speedy consideration and forthwith "enacted a good law for the better employment of the poor of this city and suburbs. . . ." ¹⁶ Within a year the "House of Employ" was completed and in operation, standing next to the Hospital so that upon discharge indigent persons would be cared for until they could procure private employment.¹⁷

Israel Pemberton, James Pemberton, John Reynell, and a few others were the main pillars of the Hospital and indefatigably labored to develop and improve it.¹⁸ Dr. John Fothergill, in London, was a sort of godfather to the Hospital. He sent apothecary supplies, medical books, charts, and scores of letters containing advice and encouragement. He solicited physicians and apothecaries for the Hospital, in 1762 informing James Pemberton that Dr. Shippen and Dr. Morgan were on their way to Philadelphia and suggesting that it might be an opportune time to start a college for physicians to which students would be attracted from all parts of British America.¹⁹ Three years later the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) established the first medical school in America.

Adam Smith, author of the *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, believed the abolition movement developed among Quakers

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 291-292. The roll shows that the non-Quaker pupils in 1765 were: thirty-three Anglicans, five Baptists, eight Presbyterians, eight Roman Catholics, and one Moravian.

¹⁴ Minutes of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, III, 107, 172-173.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 172-173.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 175.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 175-176, 305-306.

¹⁸ Pemberton Papers, XVIII, 3.

¹⁹ Etting Collection: Pemberton Papers, II, 47.

because slavery did not pay in Pennsylvania. It has been argued, however, that in colonial times domestic servants and farmhands were at a premium, thus forcing the conclusion that an economic motive was not the underlying cause which rather should be ascribed to a "calm, steady persuasion and a desire to obey the dictates of conscience unflinchingly," in fine, a triumph of principle over self-interest.²⁰

The first denunciation of slavery in America was made at Germantown by Pietists in 1688.²¹ Beginning about 1700 the Pennsylvania Assembly placed duties on the importation of Negroes which later became more and more prohibitory, and although the laws persistently were annulled by the British government, they were as often repassed to the lessening of the trade.²² But more efficacious than Quaker laws in stemming the tide of slavery was the great influx of Germans and Scots-Irish who furnished Pennsylvania with the much needed labor. It is significant that the slave trade practically ceased in 1740, when the great German and Irish immigration set in, and re-appeared in 1762, when few immigrants were arriving.

But freeing Negroes was a more difficult problem than cutting off their importation. Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveler, wrote in 1748 that "these free negroes become very lazy and indolent."²³ In 1725, Pennsylvania took the precaution of obliging a master to make security of thirty pounds on freeing a Negro because "'tis found by experience that free negroes are an idle, slothful people and often prove burdensome to the neighborhood and afford ill examples to other negroes, . . ." ²⁴ But after 1750, Quakers were stimulated to undertake great humanitarian endeavors, and soon there developed among them a movement to abolish slavery as an institution within the Society of Friends. Samuel Fothergill, accompanied by Israel Pemberton, fearlessly inveighed against the keeping of slaves by

²⁰ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVI, 129-136.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 92-109; A. B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, I, 45-46.

²² *Ibid.*, 131; T. F. Gordon, *A History of Pennsylvania from Its Discovery by Europeans to 1776*, 555. In 1745 Israel Pemberton was sent an Indian slave from the West Indies to sell, but he refused to make the transaction and sent back word that he wanted no more sent him. "If I had no other scruple I should be unwilling to encourage the importing such fellows here as prove too refractory," he informed them.

²³ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVI, 133.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 132.

Quakers as they made their way through the South in 1755.²⁵ A decade later Thomas Gawthrop preached against slavery throughout the Quaker communities. A Virginia Friend wrote Pemberton that he believed "the practice of slave keeping in these parts never had such a shock before, . . ." ²⁶ A few months later, however, another Virginia Quaker informed Israel that "at present there appears little prospect of enjoining the members of our Society to set them free as was proposed & expected by some of a few months ago." ²⁷

Action by the Pennsylvania Quaker Meetings against slave holding members apparently arose from Samuel Fothergill's preaching in 1755-1756. The Quaker way of appointing a committee to visit the offending party and hold silent prayer with him until he saw the error of his way was most efficacious. Many minutes similar to the following one of 1757 are scattered through the journals of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting: "Wm Callendar Isaac Zane, & Israel Pemberton are appointed to labour with them [Quakers who recently had purchased slaves] & endeavour to convince them of the inconsistency of their practice with the doctrines of the Gospel. . . ." ²⁸ By 1771, Israel Pemberton was deeply concerned in the abolition movement. "A knowledge of every particular in our conduct," reads a letter of a fellow abolitionist to Pemberton, "respecting the freedom of slaves, may not be unacceptable to thee who has been so much in the affair." ²⁹ In 1774, the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting went so far as to declare all Quakers holding slaves beyond the age of white apprentices would be treated as disorderly persons and read out of the Society.³⁰ Abolition, it is said, was quite complete among the Pennsylvania Quakers by 1776.³¹

It cannot be denied that many Quakers and others as well became convinced that slavery was wrong from purely humanitarian considerations; but the fact should not be overlooked that, after 1760, a strong protest was registered against slavery by the white laboring

²⁵ Pemberton Papers, XXII, 24.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XIX, 39.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XIX, 87.

²⁸ Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, 1757, 54.

²⁹ Richard Lawrence to Israel Pemberton, December 6, 1771, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

³⁰ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVI, 134-135.

³¹ *Ibid.*

class in Pennsylvania who saw in slavery a threat to their security.³² John Adams said that "Argument might have some weight in the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts, but the real cause was the multiplication of labouring white people, who would no longer suffer the rich to employ these sable rivals so much to their injury."³³ The conclusion is inescapable that the abolition appeal was successful in extirpating slavery among Pennsylvania Quakers about the time of the Revolution because the institution was not essential to the economy of the Province and because a large laboring class intransigently opposed slavery. In the South, where there existed no alternative labor supply nor rival class of white laborers, Quakers made little headway in abolishing slavery among the members of the Society of Friends.

Israel Pemberton appears to have been largely responsible for the founding of the first society in America for aiding distressed Negroes. In 1773, a master tarried in Philadelphia with an Indian woman and children who were intended for sale in the South. Hearing that the woman declared they were not slaves, Pemberton sued for their liberty. The case dragged through the courts for two years and finally was decided against the Indians. Years later, a clerk for the Philadelphia Abolition Society of which Franklin was the first president wrote in the journal: "This is the first case on the minutes of the Society and appears to have given rise to its formation."³⁴ Early in 1775, the Society was formally organized and named "The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes, unlawfully held in Bondage." During the Revolution the Society fell into abeyance but was reorganized in 1784 when it appeared as a thorough-going abolition society with Franklin as president to be succeeded on his death by James Pemberton.³⁵

In 1768, when the American Philosophical Society was formed by the union of two societies, one of which had its origin in Franklin's old "Junto," Israel Pemberton became a charter member. Franklin was elected president, and Pemberton and five others were chosen

³² K. F. Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 38-39.

³³ W. B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England*, II, 453.

³⁴ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVI, 94.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

to draft a constitution for the organization.³⁶ In the few years remaining before the Revolution the Society was very active, one of the most animated years being 1769, when a paper was read on the desirability of a canal connecting the Chesapeake and Delaware bays.³⁷ In the same year at the request of a committee composed of Phineas Bond, the vice-president, Israel Pemberton, and three others, the Pennsylvania Assembly appropriated £100 toward a "telescope with a micrometer" to view the transit of Venus in June of that year, and gave permission to have an observatory erected in the State House yard.³⁸

The political front during the decade before the American Revolution was characterized by much confusion in Pennsylvania. It was complicated by a class and sectional struggle which became more or less fused with the Anglo-American controversy. The politically underprivileged in Philadelphia and the underrepresented people of the West grew louder in their demand for a larger interest in government, while the eastern aristocratic ruling clique with equal resolution tightened the straining reins of government.

The year 1764 brought the long-standing struggle between the Franklin-Quaker party and the Proprietors to a head. Much of the blame for the anarchy in the western counties of Pennsylvania arising from Pontiac's war was placed as usual at the door of the Proprietors by the Quaker party. During his recent visit to London, Franklin had busied himself preparing for an assault upon the Proprietors.³⁹ Franklin and the popular party, we have seen, were prompted by diverse motives. The Proprietors personally were not popular; their government was believed to be not the most salutary; and the Assembly and Franklin were consumed by an inexorable desire for greater power which was thought would follow the conversion of the colony into a royal province. In reality the charter conferred by William Penn gave Pennsylvania greater legislative powers than enjoyed by any other colony save the corporate ones, Connecticut and Rhode Island.⁴⁰ But the Pennsylvanians were not

³⁶ Minutes of the American Philosophical Society, 2, 46.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 11, 26.

³⁹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXVI, 187.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 168; I. Sharpless, *Political Leaders*, 216.

satisfied, nor would they be, until the management of internal affairs was completely within their hands, be the province royal or proprietary.

For the decade prior to 1764, it is quite proper to refer to the Franklin party as the popular party inasmuch as the vast majority of all elements of the population—Quakers, Germans, Anglicans, and even Scots-Irish Presbyterians, both in the East and in the West—rallied to the Franklin banner and applauded the attacks upon the Proprietors. But the West and the politically underprivileged in the East were beginning to feel that their interests were for the most part subordinated to those of the eastern aristocracy by the Franklin party. Pontiac's uprising greatly accelerated the coalescence of the dissatisfied elements in Pennsylvania into a formidable opposition party.⁴¹ It was partly in the hope of effectively frustrating the aspirations of this new force in Pennsylvania politics that Franklin and the Quaker party appealed to England for a change in government. Religion and race were becoming less important factors in Pennsylvania politics as sectionalism and class differences arose. Nevertheless, religion intensified the contest, with the new party of western pioneers and eastern mechanics represented mainly by Presbyterians and Lutherans, and the Franklin party narrowed for the most part to Quakers and Anglicans and a following among the Germans. Naturally, the Presbyterian party supported the Proprietors, although less from love of the Penns than from hate for the Quakers and Anglicans.

A close study of the political scene, however, presents a much more complicated picture than the above generalization. The old Proprietary leaders, Peters, Allen, Chew, and other Anglicans, who had not gone over to Franklin, were allied to the Presbyterian party.⁴² Joseph Galloway and James Pemberton assiduously supported the Franklin plan to oust the Proprietors, but John Dickinson defended the Penns and led a faction of the Quaker party in protest of the movement.

Strange as it may seem, Israel Pemberton, who had so recently been represented as the arch enemy of the West, joined with Dick-

⁴¹ G. S. Klett, *Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania*, 245.

⁴² Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, IX, 270. For the political history of the decade prior to the Revolution see C. H. Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania, 1760-1776*.

erson in support of Proprietary government, or rather, in defense of the Pennsylvania charter, the bulwark of the historic liberties of the Province.⁴³ Influential London Friends such as Dr. John Fothergill, John Hunt, and David Barclay gave Pemberton their full support, but William Allen lamented that unfortunately their advice went generally unheeded among Friends in America.⁴⁴ It would seem, however, that Israel Pemberton had more success than William Allen appreciated in convincing fellow Quakers that their liberties were liable to suffer from a change in government. James Pemberton admitted in June 1764, that the new British trade regulations and plans for a stamp act were already dampening the ardor for a change in government.⁴⁵ In September the Meeting for Sufferings decided that Quakers were too divided on the issue for that committee to take any stand.⁴⁶ The Yearly Meeting held during the same month revealed that rural Quakers generally agreed with Israel Pemberton, while comparatively few Philadelphia Friends supported him. After the Yearly Meeting, Israel confidently declared that the majority of Quakers were opposed to a change in government.⁴⁷ Whether or not Pemberton's following among the Quakers was strong enough to figure effectively in the October election of 1764 may be debatable, but the fact remains that all ten seats in Philadelphia county and city were lost to the Quaker party, Franklin and Galloway themselves being among the defeated.⁴⁸ Clearly the victory in the city was mainly due to Franklin's loss of prestige among the Presbyterians and Lutherans, but Pemberton's rural Quakers may well have decided the day in the county. Notwithstanding the Philadelphia victory for the "New Party," the counties of Chester and Bucks were won by the Franklin party which retained a clear majority of the seats in the Assembly.

The passage of the Stamp Act by the British Parliament in 1765 was convincing proof that the counsels of John Dickinson and Israel

⁴³ Pemberton Papers, XIX, 5.

⁴⁴ Penn MSS; Official Correspondence, IX, 282; Barclay to Pemberton, July 5, 1764, Cox, Parrish, Wharton Collection, XI.

⁴⁵ Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 130.

⁴⁶ Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, I, 246.

⁴⁷ Pemberton Papers, XVII, 103.

⁴⁸ H. Jenkins, *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal*, I, 547; Penn MSS: Official Correspondence, IX, 274; T. W. Balch, ed., *Letters and Papers Relating Chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, 206.

Pemberton had been the wiser, and the Proprietary issue was soon quietly shelved. Israel Pemberton had surmised that Benjamin Franklin, then in England, would do little to ward off the impending Parliamentary act because of his position as chief of the colonial post office.⁴⁹ Franklin's letter to the Philadelphia appointee for stamp collector, John Hughes, lends color to Israel's conjecture. Franklin wrote:

If it [Stamp Act] continues, your undertaking to execute it may make you unpopular for a time, but your acting with coolness and steadiness, and with every circumstance in your power of favour to the people, will by degrees reconcile them. In the meantime, a firm loyalty to the Crown & faithful adherence to the Government of this Nation, which it is the safety as well as honour of the colonies to be connected with, *will always be the wisest course for you and I to take*, whatever may be the madness of the populace or their blind leaders, . . .⁵⁰

The thinking people of Philadelphia generally deprecated the excesses perpetrated throughout the colonies in protest to the Stamp Act. John Hughes, nevertheless, was hanged in effigy,⁵¹ but the large number of persons of moderation in Philadelphia prevented violence like that in Massachusetts where Thomas Hutchinson was used so badly. In October, three hundred prominent citizens of Philadelphia signed a resolution not to import English goods until the Stamp Act was repealed. In the list are all the great names of the day—merchants, lawyers, and clergymen, with Israel Pemberton's among them.⁵² Parliament saw fit to repeal its experiment the next year. British merchants, manufacturers, and working men were no less exasperated than the American people: figures from the London customhouse revealed a marked fall in exports to America, although this was partly accounted for by the economic depression following the war.⁵³

The passage of the Stamp Act by Parliament and the resulting non-importation agreements in America convinced many people in the colonies that they should consider the proposition of America

⁴⁹ Pemberton Papers, XVII, 103.

⁵⁰ Franklin to Hughes, August 9, 1765, Hughes MSS (Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Italics mine.

⁵¹ Balch, *op. cit.*, 207.

⁵² Collectanea: Jonah Thompson, October 25, 1765.

⁵³ A. M. Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776*, 82.

supplying her own manufacturing needs. Israel Pemberton gave the problem of manufacturing woolens careful consideration but soon found that it was impractical. American wool prices soared as a result of the non-importation agreements, "But the greatest obstacle," explained Pemberton, "was ye want of workmen as there are not a sufficient number to do the little business for the common service of ye country people. . . ." ⁵⁴

With the passage of the Townshend Act in 1767, colonial opposition to British imperial taxation and control again flared up, but this time there was much less unanimity in Philadelphia than in the days of the Stamp Act. Many merchants no doubt were led to protest less vigorously or to assume an attitude of indifference from the fact that the duties imposed by the Townshend Act could be readily passed on to the consumers.⁵⁵ On the other hand the most genuine cause for the change in attitude apparently arose from the fact that the upper class had come to realize that the popular demonstrations which accompanied the protests were as much a threat to the ruling class in Pennsylvania as to the British government. Therefore, they preferred not to heap fuel upon the fire.

Paradoxically, however, the new Non-Importation Association was led by John Reynell, prominent Quaker merchant and Israel Pemberton's colleague in so many civic enterprises. The legal defense for colonial resistance to the Townshend duties was supplied by John Dickinson in his famous "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania." In July 1769, a large meeting presided over by Reynell was held in the State House to consider what should be done about a cargo of malt from England consigned to Amos Strettell. The meeting resolved: "that any persons engaged in purchasing, selling, handling or storing the cargo had not 'a just sense of liberty' and 'was an enemy to his country.' " ⁵⁶ Strettell dared not receive the malt, and the vessel was forced to return to England with its cargo.⁵⁷

Quakers, who a few years before had zealously labored to have the Proprietors ousted and the charter abrogated, now realized that the Proprietary charter constituted the best guarantee to their continued political supremacy. Israel Pemberton became the acknowl-

⁵⁴ Pemberton Papers, XIX, 27.

⁵⁵ Lincoln, *op. cit.*, 149.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁵⁷ Pemberton Papers, XXI, 59.

edged leader of the Quaker faction of what now may be called the Conservative or Tory party. Pemberton led the Society of Friends to condemn Reynell's actions as a dangerous incitement to all the elements of anarchy and revolution in the Province. To John Pemberton, Israel related:

We had 2 meetings for sufferings last week & are to meet again 17th day . . . the imprudent conduct of the Committee, of which John Reynell is unhappily the first hath filled us with trouble & difficulty . . . they have been so wild as to collect ye inhabitants & by their resolves oblige an honest man of Yarmouth with a cargo of malt . . . to take back his cargo.⁵⁸

At the Meeting for Sufferings resolutions were adopted indicting "the dangerous tendency of contributing to the support of such Associations, . . ." ⁵⁹

Just before the news of the repeal of the Townshend Act reached Philadelphia, the Non-Importation Association receded from its extreme position and agreed to admit all English goods not taxed. Samuel Coates declared they would have relaxed before but for Charles Thomson, now a prominent Philadelphia merchant and for a time one of the more radical leaders, who prevented it by the help of the mechanics. Philadelphia trade, Coates declared, had suffered thereby for the Maryland importers had carried on a clandestine trade contrary to agreement, while Boston had been a still more flagrant violator to the prejudice of New York, which also had adhered to the articles of the Association.⁶⁰ The repeal of the Townshend Act had a quieting influence on American politics, but the stage was set for momentous events.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, XXI, 151.

⁵⁹ Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, I, 295.

⁶⁰ Samuel Coates' Letter Book, September 26, 1770 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

CHAPTER XV

REVOLUTION ENGULFS THE QUAKERS

THOUGH Israel Pemberton viewed with alarm the spreading disaffection among the people of America, he did not defend the acts of the British government. "It would become them [British ministers]," wrote Israel, "to consider the cause, & how unreasonable it is to attempt to govern a people with severity when gentle methods and constitutional laws would secure their affection & allegiance in ye most effectual manner."¹ The Tea Act gave radical committees and associations new life and soon committees were established in every county in Pennsylvania for the purpose of keeping in constant communication with each other and with the central committee in Philadelphia.² Charles Thomson records that this was done by those "who were firmly persuaded that the dispute would terminate in blood, immediately adopted measures to bring the whole body of the people into the dispute, and thereby put it out of the power of the merchants as they had done before to drop the opposition when interest dictated the measure."³ The Quakers, however, led by Israel Pemberton were determined to keep the Society, so far as possible, uncontaminated with the radical demonstrations. Those participating were lectured by the Meeting for Sufferings which in January 1774, released a firm epistle against Quaker participation in these activities. The number of Friends concerned in radical measures, however, was not large and consisted mostly of youths.⁴ The Philadelphia Quakers made a contribution for the relief of Boston during the closure of its port, but they made

¹ Pemberton to Mildred, January 3, 1774, Cox, Parrish, Wharton Collection, XI.

² *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 417; C. H. Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania, 1760-1776, 172-173*. The Philadelphia committee consisted of forty-three members who corresponded with rural committees and with other colonies.

³ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 417.

⁴ Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, I, 404-405.

it plain that they disapproved of the Boston Tea Party and that the contribution was made for purely humanitarian reasons.

Leaders in the several colonies presently were laying plans for a general or continental congress to consider jointly the problems which beset them all. The Pennsylvania Assembly, headed by Joseph Galloway, now a champion of the Proprietary and charter, was still securely held by the Quakers and Anglicans, determined to do their best to preserve the union with Britain and their control of the government of the Province. The Philadelphia committee, headed by Charles Thomson, requested the Governor to convene the Assembly for the purpose of having it appoint delegates to the Continental Congress. The Governor refused, but upon being informed that if he could not be persuaded to do so, the committees would feel obliged to hold a convention to consider the matter, he acquiesced.⁵ Notwithstanding, the Philadelphia committee soon decided that it would be advisable to call a convention for the purpose of instructing the Assembly in the name of the people. The convention met in July and requested the Assembly to appoint delegates to the Continental Congress, intimating that if it did not do so the convention would be obliged to choose them. But the Assembly still held à trump card and appointed seven of its own members including Galloway for the Continental Congress, causing the Pennsylvania delegates to constitute a moderating influence.⁶

While the Continental Congress was in session, an incident occurred which made a lasting impression upon John Adams. One evening, about the middle of October 1774, Adams was invited to a meeting at Carpenter's Hall by Messrs. Hopkins and Ward of Rhode Island at the instance of Israel Pemberton and fellow Quakers. Adams came and found a large number of Quakers assembled with Hopkins, Ward, and President Manning of Rhode Island College.⁷ To the surprise and discomfiture of Adams, he was informed that they would like to talk about complaints received from Massachusetts Baptists and Quakers regarding the laws of the Province which denied persons the liberty of conscience in religious matters.⁸

⁵ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 417.

⁶ Lincoln, *op. cit.*, 177-178.

⁷ Now Brown University.

⁸ C. F. Adams, ed., *Works of John Adams*, II, 398.

As told by John Adams years later:

Israel Pemberton, a Quaker of large property and more intrigue, began to speak, and said that Congress were here endeavoring to form a union of the colonies but there were difficulties in the way, and none of more importance than liberty of conscience. The laws of New England, and particularly of Massachusetts, were inconsistent with it, for they not only compelled men to pay to the building of churches and support of ministers, but to go to some known religious assembly on first days, etc., and that he and his friends were desirous of engaging us to assure them that our state would repeal all those laws, and place things as they were in Pennsylvania.⁹

Adams endeavored to defend his province as best he could but apparently made a bad job of it and ended by saying something to the effect that one might as well try to turn the heavenly bodies from their course as to expect the people of Massachusetts to give up their church laws. "Mr. Pemberton made no reply but this, 'Oh! sir, pray don't urge liberty of conscience in favor of such laws!'"¹⁰

There is reason for believing that Adams' memory failed him regarding some of the points brought up by Israel Pemberton. In a letter written a few days after the meeting, Israel shows that he pointed out to Adams that the Massachusetts charter, which he was so vehemently charging England with violating, did not warrant the religious intolerance contained in the Massachusetts laws. Evidently Adams, too, was less unyielding than he claimed to have been, for Israel wrote to friends in Massachusetts that upon proper application a recent law which gave them offense would probably soon be repealed.¹¹

As moderates in Pennsylvania held the balance of power, the radicals proceeded with great caution. Moderates, such as John Dickinson, James Wilson, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas McKean, were induced to participate in the proceedings of the convention which met for the second time in January 1775,¹² and Israel Pemberton believed that it was best not to oppose this coalition inasmuch as the moderates constituted a brake which might shield and preserve the Pennsylvania charter. But debates were running

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Pemberton Papers, XXVI, 177½.

¹² Lincoln, *op. cit.*, 185, 190.

high in the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, and it was decided in January that Friends should not concern themselves in the dispute with the mother country nor refuse to pay any of the taxes imposed by the King's government.¹³ About this time, it was noised about Philadelphia that James Pemberton had declared all to be "rebels" who participated in the Continental Congress.¹⁴

After the Battle of Lexington, with the war fever sweeping through all the colonies, the Quakers softened in their utterances against the radicals. James Pemberton wrote to Dr. Fothergill that if anyone dared to oppose the popular views, he was pounced upon and labeled a public enemy.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the Quakers reiterated their disapproval of Friends participating in any way in the revolutionary movement, but showed that they would not decline to help the needy and distressed by making a second contribution for the beleaguered Bostonians.¹⁶ By the fall of 1776, Pennsylvania Friends had given approximately £4,000 for alleviating the distress in New England.¹⁷ At this time John Adams observed:

In this province indeed, in this city, there are three persons, a Mr. W. [Willing?] who is very rich and very timid; the provost of the college [William Smith], and one Israel Pemberton, who is at the head of the Quaker interest; these three make an interest here which is lukewarm, but they are all obliged to lie low at the present.¹⁸

In the autumn of 1775, with war engulfing America, the Quakers came to grips with the issue and made an advanced stand against participation of any kind. The Yearly Meeting declared that Quakers entering into martial engagements would be disowned after due warnings were given.¹⁹ Israel Pemberton, steadfast in his belief that financial measures, when enacted for purposes of war, could not be sanctioned by true Quakers, wrote into the minutes of the Yearly Meeting that:

¹³ C. Marshall's Diary, January 2, 1775.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, January 24, 1775.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, May 7, 1774; Pemberton Papers, XXVII, 138.

¹⁶ Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, II, 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 100.

¹⁸ C. F. Adams, *op. cit.*, I, 173.

¹⁹ Pemberton Papers, XXVIII, 75. Quakers found that in November, 1775, only about one hundred of their number had been unfaithful to their principles. See Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, II, November 30, 1775.

as many Friends have expressed that a religious objection is rais'd in their minds against the receiving or paying certain paper bills of credit lately issued expressly for the purpose of carrying on warr, apprehending that it is a duty required of them to guard carefully against contributing thereto in any manner, we therefore fervently desire that such who are not convinced that it is their duty to refuse those bills may be watchful over their own spirits & abide in true love & charity. . . .²⁰

What a stir this statement would have made if it had become public knowledge! Moses Brown and the Rhode Island Quakers took the safe position, informing the Pembertons that they feared taxes for the redemption of paper money would have to be paid to escape being considered Tories.²¹

A month later, in October, faced with the prospect of paying fines in lieu of military duty, the Meeting for Sufferings sent a petition to the Assembly claiming charter immunity from bearing arms or other obligations of war.²² The Revolutionary party became incensed at this, declaring that the Quakers would benefit from the war without sustaining any of its costs, and a few days later about sixty committeemen marched to the State House and demanded that the Assembly place an extra tax upon "non associators." The Assembly, once again led by Franklin and ready to do almost anything to keep itself from being abolished, in November laid a fine of two pounds, ten shillings upon those who refused to render military service.²³

Naturally, Israel Pemberton deemed it time to declare a halt, but Dickinson, Willing, and Allen (the son of the former chief justice), avowedly, for the purpose of forestalling anarchy in Pennsylvania, continued to support the Continental Congress.²⁴ Israel Pemberton entertained no high regard for the political virtues of most of the members of the Continental Congress. "I cannot think any of them true friends to Liberty," he confided in a Virginia friend, "who deny & withhold it from such as are incapable of claiming

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 79.

²² Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, II, 30-35.

²³ J. P. Selsam, *The Pennsylvania Constitution, 1776*, 82-85; Lincoln, *op. cit.*, 209, T. F. Gordon, *A History of Pennsylvania from Its Discovery by Europeans to 1776*, 512.

²⁴ Lincoln, *op. cit.*, 207; *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 423.

it, . . .”²⁵ It is quite plausible that Israel Pemberton was at the bottom of propaganda now circulated in Pennsylvania to the effect that the revolutionary movement was a conspiracy on the part of New England Congregationalists and Pennsylvania Presbyterians to set up a national government and church under their control.²⁶ John Adams suspected that Pemberton was up to something of this kind the previous year when he first came to Philadelphia to attend the Continental Congress and had the embarrassing debate with Israel at Carpenter’s Hall. Adams noted in his diary:

Suspicion instantly arose in my mind, which I have ever believed to have been well founded, that this artful Jesuit, for I had been before apprized of his character, was endeavoring to avail himself of this opportunity to break up the Congress, or at least to withdraw the Quakers and the governing part of Pennsylvania from us. . . .²⁷

Quaker resistance to the revolutionary movement stiffened as the specter of independence made its appearance. By January 1776, the rapid spread of independence sentiments provoked an appeal from the Quakers to all inhabitants of Pennsylvania:

The benefits, advantages and favour we have experienced by our dependence on, and connection with, the kings and government, under which we have enjoyed this happy state, appear to demand from us the greatest circumspection, care and constant endeavours, to guard against every attempt to alter, or subvert that dependence and connection. . . . May we therefore firmly unite in the abhorrence of all such writings, and measures as evidence a desire and design to break off the happy connection we have heretofore enjoyed, with the kingdom of Great Britain.²⁸

Naturally, this appeal provoked a shower of abuse and condemnation from the revolutionaries who now styled themselves Whigs or Patriots. They declared that the Quakers were violating their own vows to be neutral and had shown themselves to be but Tories at heart.²⁹ Thomas Paine in *The Crisis* reached the height of vituperation toward those whom he believed to be the saboteurs of liberty and freedom: “O! ye fallen, cringing, priest and Pemberton-ridden

²⁵ Pemberton Papers, XXVII, 155.

²⁶ Lincoln, *op. cit.*, 192.

²⁷ C. F. Adams, *op. cit.*, 398–399.

²⁸ Pemberton Papers, XXVII, 161. The paper was signed for the Society of Friends by John Pemberton, clerk.

²⁹ Lincoln, *op. cit.*, 241.

people! What more can we say of ye than that a religious Quaker is a valuable character, and a political Quaker a real Jesuit." ³⁰

Affairs were rapidly approaching a crisis in Pennsylvania. John Dickinson, James Wilson, and even Charles Thomson hesitated and drew back from the attempt to stampede America toward independence: they were averse to taking the extreme step until all other means for attaining an understanding were exhausted, and they believed talk of independence to be premature.³¹ Israel Pemberton now made the most of their wavering. John Adams kindly draws the curtain again and reveals to us that:

the proprietary gentlemen, Israel Pemberton and other principal Quakers now united with Mr. Dickinson, addressed themselves with great art and assiduity to all the members of Congress whom they could influence, even to some of the delegates of Massachusetts, but most of all to the delegates from South Carolina . . . and we soon began to find that Mr. Lynch, Mr. Arthur Middleton and even the two Rutledges, began to waver and to clamor about independence.³²

Early in May the Whigs staged a great mass meeting in Philadelphia in protest to the Assembly's instruction to its delegates to oppose independence in the Continental Congress.³³ At this point John Adams, realizing that Pennsylvania was not only slowing up the revolutionary movement but endangering its continued existence by its reluctance to proceed without further overtures for reconciliation with Britain, entered a motion in Congress which opened the sluiceway for the revolutionaries. As adopted, the resolution recommended that in states where no government existed "sufficient to the exigencies," such governments should be superseded by conventions or other bodies representing the people.³⁴ Realizing that it was impossible to forestall the wishes of the radicals any longer, the Assembly voted to allow its delegates to use their discretion on issues pending in Congress.³⁵

With independence declared, the Pennsylvania Whigs wrote a constitution for the state, and William Penn's charter, for which

³⁰ M. D. Conway, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, I, 208.

³¹ Selsam, *op. cit.*, 95.

³² E. C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, I, 108.

³³ C. H. Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution*, 102.

³⁴ Selsam, *op. cit.*, 113.

³⁵ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XIII, 427.

Israel Pemberton had fought for a generation to preserve and defend, was gone. It cannot be said that Israel Pemberton's disapproval of the independence movement was prompted from interests as a merchant. Pemberton, himself, did scarcely any trading after 1760, in fact his interest in trade had been but sporadic since 1748, and the business of his son, Joseph Pemberton, was shattered before the Revolution began. The motives of Israel Pemberton must, therefore, lie in his devotion to the Society of Friends and to the charter of William Penn which he believed to be the bulwark of Quaker liberty. A fear that amounted almost to an obsession possessed Pemberton that the Society of Friends might become the subject of persecution in its own asylum. The charter was safe, he believed, as long as the Whigs acted within constitutional limits; but Whigs were likewise aware of this point and sealed its fate by supplementing it and finally by substituting extra-legal measures. John Adams, with his usual perspicacity, recognized the inner motives which governed the Quakers: "[if General Howe] imagines that ninety-nine in one hundred of those are his friends, he is mistaken again, for I believe in my conscience that a majority of them are friends to nobody but themselves; and Howe will find them full as great an encumbrance and embarrassment to him as we have found them to us."³⁶

With independence declared and the charter government abolished, the Quakers of Pennsylvania ceased their active resistance and withdrew within themselves. On returning to Philadelphia early in 1777, John Adams noted the change. Most Philadelphians had moved from the path of war into the country, but the Quakers remained and were "as dull as beetles." "From these," Adams declared, "neither good is to be expected nor evil to be apprehended. They are a kind of neutral tribe, or the race of the insipids."³⁷ But the Quakers were not allowed to retire within themselves: reports were circulated in the spring of 1777 that evidence had been found of their conveying information to the enemy, and in June the Pennsylvania legislature ruled that any person leaving the city or county could be brought before a justice at the

³⁶ C. F. Adams, *op. cit.*, IX, 459.

³⁷ Selsam, *op. cit.*, 251-252; C. F. Adams, ed., *John Adams; Letters Addressed to His Wife*, I, 194.

instance of any citizen and be obliged to take an oath or affirmation abjuring British allegiance or suffer imprisonment.³⁸ A few days later Congress resolved that Pennsylvania and Delaware should secure all disaffected persons.³⁹ Notwithstanding the Pennsylvania restriction, Israel Pemberton went as usual to his Bolton estate but early in July wrote Joseph that he was not likely to stay much longer inasmuch as the lower class in the neighborhood were plainly bent upon being malevolent.⁴⁰

When Israel returned to Philadelphia, his wife Mary remained at Bolton. Israel wrote her in August from his home on Chestnut Street that although "tumults & crowds" daily passed the house, he had been "neither molested nor disturbed."⁴¹ Meanwhile, Mary Pemberton was having unexpected company. The British were pouring in and encamping on the surrounding farm lands, and General Maxwell (Mary wrote Israel) had sent a note saying that he wished to lodge at Bolton and apparently would "dine here." "Thy wine," Mary warned, "will stand a Poor chance unless we have something Else to Drink." In closing, she said that she had just heard that the Earl of Sterling was nearby and would probably also stay at Bolton.⁴²

With the British army closing upon Philadelphia, excitement gripped all those in the Patriot interest. No doubt a self-satisfied expression on many a Quaker's face produced mixed feelings of exasperation, revenge, and fear that they might be secretly in league with the enemy, while such incidents as the cordiality with which Mary Pemberton received British officers at Bolton was not calculated to allay suspicions. To add fuel to the flames, General Sullivan sent Congress, late in August, a report supporting a charge that certain Quakers had sent the British treasonable information.⁴³ The papers, which supposedly had their source in a Quaker Meeting at Spanktown, New Jersey, were undoubtedly forged, inasmuch as it was shown by the Quakers from the very

³⁸ Pemberton Papers, XXX, 49.

³⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, IV, 551.

⁴⁰ Pemberton Papers, XXX, 59.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XXX, 81.

⁴² Mary to Israel Pemberton, August 2, 1777, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIX.

⁴³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 10, 1777.

first that there was no Meeting at Spanktown or any place nearby.⁴⁴

Richard Henry Lee, however, stated the mind of most Patriot leaders when he said that it was believed necessary to confine the Quaker leaders "to prevent their mischievous interposition in favor of the enemy at this critical moment when the enemy's arms is on its way here, . . ." ⁴⁵ Congress acted on August twenty-fifth, resolving that all persons "notoriously disaffected" should be apprehended and confined until the crisis was passed. Furthermore, the houses of those who had not "manifested their attachment to the American cause" should be searched.⁴⁶ Three days later, the Congressional committee consisting of John Adams, Richard Henry Lee, and William Duer, chosen to consider the Spanktown charge, reported that inasmuch as a number of prominent Quakers had shown themselves to be inimical to the Patriot cause and would be in a position to injure it if left at large, they should be apprehended at once. Israel Pemberton and eleven others were reported to be manifestly disaffected.⁴⁷ The Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council accepted this recommendation from Congress, adding thirty more names to the list on August thirty-first.⁴⁸

Soon after this a meeting of Quakers, called to consider what course Friends should take in the exigency, was forcibly broken up by zealous Patriots. On September 2, all the Quakers on the list except Israel Pemberton, John Hunt,⁴⁹ and Samuel Pleasants were taken into custody. John Pemberton, who refused to submit to arrest, was taken by a "file of musketeers," while Charles Willson Peale, the noted portrait painter of later days, in charge of

⁴⁴ Pemberton Papers, XXX, 96.

⁴⁵ Burnett, *op. cit.*, 486.

⁴⁶ T. Gilpin, *Exiles in Virginia*, 35.

⁴⁷ *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, IV, 554-555.

⁴⁸ Gilpin, *op. cit.*, 71. The Quakers named by Congress were: Israel, James, and John Pemberton, Myers, Thomas, and Samuel Fisher, Henry Drinker, Owen Jones, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Gilpin, John Hunt, and Thomas Wharton, senior. The new list made by the Council consisted principally of Anglicans and Quakers. David Rittenhouse, the astronomer, then state treasurer, was named with three army officers to prepare a list of disaffected persons by the Executive Council. John Penn, one of the Proprietors, and Benjamin Chew were arrested and sent to Fredericksburg, Va. In October they were allowed to repair to the Union Iron Works in New Jersey owned by a relative of Chew. W. H. Siebert, "The Loyalists of Pennsylvania," *Ohio State University Bulletin* (1920), XXIV, Nos. 23, 35, 37.

⁴⁹ John Hunt lived in America after 1765.

the arrest, broke into his desk and seized as many papers as could be found relative to the Quaker meetings.⁵⁰ The prisoners were all taken to the Masonic Lodge and confined under guard. The next day fellow Quakers appeared in crowds outside the lodge and, against the commands of the guard, conversed with the prisoners. Finally, an exasperated guard poked his cocked musket up to a window and threatened to fire on the Quakers, whereupon the indignant Friends outside hurried to the Mayor of the city, who, being a reasonable and moderate man, prevailed upon the military officers to allow friends to freely visit the prisoners.⁵¹

After repeated requests by the prisoners, they were shown a warrant for their arrest, signed by George Bryan, vice-president of the Council of Safety. The Quakers thereupon applied for a hearing in order to secure their freedom by demonstrating their innocence of any acts inimical to the new order; but to their astonishment they were informed that the Council planned to send them to Virginia without a hearing. The Quakers were not alone in holding that this would be an act both arbitrary and unconstitutional; men of undoubted loyalty to the American cause termed it a flagrant violation of personal liberties.⁵²

On the third day of September, Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel Pleasants were taken into custody at Israel's home in Germantown. Before arresting the Quakers, they were offered parole by signing a paper promising not to commit any deeds which might prejudice the American cause; but, like the others, they refused and were told they must therefore submit to arrest. At the outset, Israel Pemberton gave evidence that he was likely to become a constant source of official headache so long as he was confined. To the bewilderment of the simple soldiers, Israel declared that he was a free man and would not submit to arrest without being shown a warrant prescribing it. The perplexed soldiers retired apologetically to return later with a warrant, just as Samuel Pleasants and John Hunt entered the house exclaiming that soldiers had entered the latter's house and broken into his desk. This was just what Israel needed to strengthen his next move

⁵⁰ Memorandum by unknown author, September 2, 1777, Cox, Parrish, Wharton Collection, XIV.

⁵¹ James Pemberton's Journal, Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 79.

⁵² *Ibid.*

as he summarily proceeded to lecture the now thoroughly intimidated soldiers on the rights of freemen. He then told them that he would insist upon keeping the warrant, and in the midst of their confusion, he advised them to consult upon the matter, whereupon they sheepishly withdrew.⁵³

The three Quakers were not troubled again before they had time to draft a remonstrance to the Executive Council declaring their arrest to be arbitrary and unconstitutional. Pemberton, Hunt, and Pleasants, accompanied by a lawyer, proceeded to the State House with their paper, but, although it was accepted by the Council, they were refused admittance and a hearing, and were presently seized and confined with their fellows at the Mason's Lodge.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, those already confined had drawn up a remonstrance which John Reynell and other prominent Quakers not under arrest delivered to George Bryan, the vice-president. Bryan expressed sympathy for the plight of the Quakers but criticized their course in refusing to accept parole.⁵⁵ In their paper the Quakers reminded the Council that the Patriots had condemned the British Parliament for passing judgment upon the town of Boston without a hearing; in fact, the Council's action belied the Patriot professions of entertaining the highest regard for liberty and personal rights. The cause of the Quakers was the cause of every inhabitant, the petition concluded, for if the act "were permitted to pass into a precedent," it would "establish a system of arbitrary power, unknown but in the Inquisition or the despotic courts of the East."⁵⁶

To supplement this petition, the prisoners sent Congress a remonstrance which differed little from the one presented to the Council, similarly warning Congress that the "Liberty, Property, and Character, of every Freeman in *America*, is, or may be endangered." The Quakers could not understand why Congress had not prescribed a hearing, especially inasmuch as few of them knew any of the victims of their resolutions. Congress, they declared, had simply accepted the reports of personal and old political enemies of the Quaker leaders who were availing themselves of an

⁵³ Pemberton Papers, XXX, 85.

⁵⁴ James Pemberton's Journal, Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 80.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Gilpin, *op. cit.*, 80-81.

opportunity for revenge.⁵⁷ There may have been persons concerned in the measures taken against the Quakers who were moved by personal dislike or spite, but it seems clear that most officials were actuated by patriotic motives, and the refusal of the Friends to take the proffered parole strengthened their suspicions and convinced them that the prisoners should be sent to Virginia.

Israel Pemberton wrote several Congressmen soliciting their intercession in behalf of the Friends. The remonstrance of the Quakers found some friends in Congress who persuaded their colleagues to reconsider their disposal of the Quaker question. On September 5, Henry Laurens of South Carolina wrote:

five hours debating one silly point whether certain persons chiefly Quakers, who have given the Strongest proofs which in these times can be expected of their avowed attachment to the cause of our Enemies, who have peremptorily refused to take an Oath or affirmation of Allegiance to the state or to give a parole to the Executive power, should have a hearing in their own defence.⁵⁸

Notwithstanding the impatience shown by Laurens and men of like mind, Congress resolved to recommend that the Pennsylvania Executive Council give the Quakers a hearing.⁵⁹

But the Executive Council did not see fit to honor Congress' recommendation, replying that it was too busy to conduct the hearings and that Congress could do so if it pleased. The Council added, however, that it was of the opinion that hearings would answer no good purpose and that the policy of simply confining suspicious persons in times when the security of the state was endangered could be justified by history.⁶⁰ This, of course, adds color to Israel Pemberton's charge that their imprisonment arose from "the resolutions of our personal enemies to subject to suffering some of us."⁶¹ But to the satisfaction of the Council, Congress refused to conduct the hearings inasmuch as the prisoners

⁵⁷ Franklin Papers, XII, 49 (University of Pennsylvania); Pemberton Papers, XXX, 95.

⁵⁸ Burnett, *op. cit.*, II, 476-477.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, IV, 596.

⁶⁰ *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, IV, 593.

⁶¹ Pemberton Papers, XXX, 95. The Executive Council included: Thomas Wharton, president (cousin of the Quaker prisoner by that name), George Bryan, vice-president, Timothy Matlack, secretary, Jonathan Hoge, John Proctor, Jacob Morgan, John Bailey, John Evans and Joseph Hart.

were inhabitants of Pennsylvania and under its jurisdiction. Congress then brought the matter to a close by recommending that all those who still refused to take an oath or affirmation of allegiance should be sent to Staunton, Virginia, as previously planned.⁶² Henry Laurens, with unconcealed disgust remarked, "Spent four hours of that time wrangling a point which I think had employed us five days before, . . . a well timed and spirited reprimand from the Council [ended] the business relative to the Quakers."⁶³

Meanwhile, the prisoners were not inactive, having prepared an address to the people of Pennsylvania; but to their annoyance, for a time they could find no one who dared to print it.⁶⁴ On the eighth of September they sent the Council a second and stinging remonstrance, hardly suited to mollify or extenuate. The prisoners declared the Council had misapplied the "Test Act" and usurped legislative powers.⁶⁵ Israel Pemberton's name heads the list and the whole address bears the mark of his forceful character and intrepidity.

The next day the Quakers had their protest to the inhabitants printed by Christopher Sauer, the third, and soon distributed about the city.⁶⁶ Determined not to submit, the Quakers sent a note to the Council requesting a copy of all the minutes pertaining to themselves and with considerable foresight asked the Council to declare whether they were the prisoners of Pennsylvania or of the Continental Congress. But Matlack, the secretary, refused both and declared their questions to be "artful and insidious."⁶⁷

On September 10, the prisoners were allowed to go home to settle their affairs before leaving for Virginia.⁶⁸ Late the next day

⁶² Gilpin, *op. cit.*, 40.

⁶³ Burnett, *op. cit.*, II, 481.

⁶⁴ James Pemberton's Journal, Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 81.

⁶⁵ Gilpin, *op. cit.*, 108-109. The Quakers quoted Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*: "When the legislative or executive bodies are united in the same person or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty; . . ."

⁶⁶ James Pemberton's Journal, Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 83. Christopher Sauer, the first, who died in 1758, established the first German newspaper in America. The second Sauer was living during the Revolution, but apparently remained strictly neutral. His son, however, became openly identified with the Tories and, after the war, became one of the first settlers of Parrtown, Nova Scotia, where he established a newspaper.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

they were put into carriages (some not without forceful assistance) and

were drove through third street to the upper part of the city and from thence to the falls of the Schuylkill, a spectacle to the people, who by their countenances sufficiently tho' silently expressed the grief they felt on this extraordinary occasion, nor were any marks of approbation of our hard sentence & suffering given except by a very few of the lower class, until we had crossed Vine Street, where a rabble, consisting for the most part of boys . . . threw some stones at one or two of the hindermost carriages.⁶⁹

As the Quakers left Philadelphia, they could hear the sound of cannon near Brandywine to the southwest, where the fate of the city was being decided between Washington and Howe. The guards took the road to the northwest leading to Pottsgrove in order to make a wide circuit about the armies.

Throughout their altercation with the Pennsylvania authorities, the Quakers had contended that the law did not compel them to take the "test" and that a pledge not to correspond with the enemy would imply that they already had been guilty of doing so. That they had never entered into any treasonable communication or act they contended would be ascertained by the granting of a hearing.⁷⁰ The Quaker argument was cogent and constitutionally sound, but it did not satisfy the members of the Executive Council who knew full well where their sympathies lay and that their influence was mainly responsible for the small number of Quakers supporting the Revolution.⁷¹ In contrast the Mennonites and Moravians, who also opposed war, freely offered contributions in money and provisions for the Patriot cause.⁷² It was Richard Henry Lee who raised one of the strongest points against the Quakers when he said: "Altho nothing can be more certain than that Allegiance and protection are reciprocal duties, yet these men have the assurance to call for the protection of those laws and that Gov-

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ James Pemberton's Journal, Pemberton Papers, XXX, 98.

⁷¹ Siebert, *op. cit.*, 34. It has been estimated that by the fall of 1777, one fifth of the Quaker population capable of bearing arms had joined the American army. See A. Nevins, *The American States During and After the Revolution, 1775-1789*, 252.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 32; O. Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*, 208.

ernment, which they expressly disclaim, and refuse to give any evidence of their allegiance to.”⁷³

On their journey to Virginia the prisoners used every possible artifice to delay their progress. Israel wrote to Mary that they avoided “going faster than they were obliged” for “the nearer we can keep to our homes the more desirable”⁷⁴ and that at Pottsgrove they successfully held over for a day by the excuse of waiting for their baggage. It was at Pottsgrove that they discovered their guards had orders from the Board of War as well as the Council, intelligence which gave them no little uneasiness.⁷⁵ But their day was not to pass without an element of good fortune, for their friends in Philadelphia, after repeated application, had succeeded in having their destination changed from Staunton to Winchester, one hundred miles nearer home.⁷⁶

Before leaving Philadelphia, Israel Pemberton and eight others had taken steps to procure their release by writs of habeas corpus. The rest declined to do so, either through fear or doubt.⁷⁷ Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, acknowledged their right to the writs, issued them, and sent them by messengers to Pottsgrove with word that he would meet the prisoners at East Fallowfield to consider action under the writs.⁷⁸ Israel Pemberton felt that McKean would grant them a hearing and probably release them under bail.

The prisoners arrived at Reading on the fifteenth of September. In front of their intended lodging, a mob which had collected to receive them yanked John Pemberton and James Starr from their carriage and with great fury and passion began beating them. The officers in charge sprang to their assistance and succeeded in driving the men back, who, after lingering nearby for a time dispersed, assured by Colonel Morgan that the Quakers were harmless men.⁷⁹ Many, however, were still inclined to do the Quakers violence, causing them to stay within doors and to receive but few visitors,⁸⁰

⁷³ Burnett, *op. cit.*, II, 486-487. The Executive Council found nothing incriminating in any of the confiscated Quaker papers. See I. Sharpless, *Political Leaders*, 220.

⁷⁴ Pemberton Papers, XXX, 144.

⁷⁵ James Pemberton's Journal, Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 33.

⁷⁶ Pemberton Papers, XXX, 110.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXI, 83; James Pemberton's Journal, Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 33.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, XXX, 111.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, XXX, 121.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

although they had many friends in Reading who were anxious to express their sympathy. Nevertheless, Benjamin Lightfoot, an old friend of Israel Pemberton, brought them dressed fowl, pies, custards, wine, and other presents.⁸¹ Soon the townspeople softened and ceased to show a desire to abuse them. The soldiers, too, became friendly and freely granted all the privileges they desired.⁸² Alexander Graydon, then a continental officer, observed that the "prisoners were not much dejected, probably looking upon themselves as martyrs to the cause of their country; and, in fact, though apparently well pleased with the civility we showed them, their manner rather indicated, that they considered us as more objects of pity than themselves." ⁸³

Soon after arriving at Reading, the rest of the prisoners wrote to Justice McKean for writs of habeas corpus. The same day, one of the officers in charge left for Philadelphia to inquire whether or not they should respect the writs or other acts by the Chief Justice.⁸⁴ Israel Pemberton entertained suspicions that if the Council thought McKean would grant them bail, steps would be taken to prevent it. In a letter to his wife he declared that he had no scruples against making bail, but advised her not to mention the fact to anyone for fear the Council would learn of it.⁸⁵ Pemberton's fears were realized, and all hope of soon being released from military custody and allowed to return home was dashed when word arrived that, by an act of Assembly, the privilege of habeas corpus was to be denied them. The act was a thinly veiled *ex post facto* law providing that McKean should release them under the writs issued, whereupon they would be immediately arrested again by the guards.⁸⁶ The officers, by orders from the Executive Council, overlooked this technicality by simply informing the prisoners that they would presently proceed on their journey.⁸⁷ For his part, Thomas McKean was severely criticized by many persons. Writing to John Adams, McKean insisted that he only wished to abide by the law and that by allowing the prisoners access to him, no change would have been made in

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*, XXX, 126.

⁸³ Graydon, *op. cit.*, 270.

⁸⁴ Pemberton Papers, XXX, 113.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, XXX, 121.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, XXX, 120; Gilpin, *op. cit.*, 41.

⁸⁷ Henry Drinker to his wife, September 18, 1777, Haverford College MSS.

the plans of the Council "save a little delay in their banishment." ⁸⁸

Meanwhile, Israel Pemberton, who had plainly not given up the contest against the Revolutionaries, assiduously labored to present the Quaker case to the people of Pennsylvania. Before leaving Philadelphia he had arranged with Christopher Sauer to translate into German the "Address to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania" and to distribute the pamphlets among the Germans of the state.⁸⁹ Before leaving Reading, Israel requested Mary to send a large number of the pamphlets to him as soon as possible "for we have not half enough." ⁹⁰

The prisoners had been accorded the privilege of conveying themselves in their own carriages; in fact, they were encouraged to do so, inasmuch as the Council had appropriated only £600 for their banishment.⁹¹ Israel Pemberton had driven to Reading in his own chaise but, upon leaving, he arranged with one of the prisoners to exchange the chaise for his companion's sulky, which furnished greater convenience for making excursions off the main route for the purpose of meeting and conversing with friends and distributing his literature. A guard obligingly rode with Israel and found no objection to his advertising the iniquities of the Council. From Carlisle, Israel directed Mary to ask Sauer to expedite the work of dispersing the pamphlets as "they are much wanted" and to see that a large number were sent to Lebanon and Lancaster.⁹² When Israel reached Winchester, Virginia, he wrote to his wife cautioning her to wrap the addresses sent him in stockings and shirts to defy detection.⁹³

Meanwhile, Mary Pemberton was having her troubles with the British soldiery. Lord Cornwallis had marched into Philadelphia on the morning of September 26, with three thousand troops and numerous Tories, among whom were Joseph Galloway and William Allen, junior.⁹⁴ Farms and estates along the line of march, whether belonging to Whigs or Tories, had suffered indiscriminately at the

⁸⁸ Thomas McKean to John Adams, September 10, 1777, McKean Papers, I (Historical Society of Pennsylvania); *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, I, 6.

⁸⁹ Pemberton Papers, XXX, 127.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXX, 134.

⁹¹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, IV, 609.

⁹² Pemberton Papers, XXX, 144.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, XXX, 152.

⁹⁴ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, I, 7.

hands of the British. Israel Pemberton's Germantown estate was plundered of its wine, silverware, bed clothing, and other articles; closets and chests were ruthlessly broken in the mad search for plunder.⁹⁵

The British officers endeavored to restrain their men, and when the damage to the Pemberton estate was reported, a guard was sent there without application.⁹⁶ A soldier was soon caught coming out of the house with stolen goods and was summarily sentenced to be shot.⁹⁷ Hearing of the incident, Mary Pemberton wrote General Howe a touching letter, pleading a mitigation of the man's sentence.⁹⁸ No one who knows Howe will doubt but that he immediately ordered the cause for her anxiety to be removed. General Howe came to know Mary Pemberton very well during his stay in Philadelphia, having the use of her coach and pair which was daily seen before the Pemberton house on Chestnut Street waiting for Howe's driver to arrive.⁹⁹

The prisoners and their guards arrived in Winchester late in September, where, to the surprise of all, the commanding officer objected to receiving the prisoners. He flatly refused to recognize the order from the Pennsylvania Council and questioned the right of Congress to interfere in Virginia affairs.¹⁰⁰ The prisoners made haste to make the most of the misunderstanding and demanded that their guards take them back to Pennsylvania. But the sheriff of Berks county, who was in charge, refused to listen to them and finally arranged with the Virginian to take the Quakers under his care while awaiting orders from the Governor of Virginia.¹⁰¹

When the Quakers arrived at Winchester they found that Isaac Zane had preceded them and procured the necessary accommodations. Israel, writing to Mary, described their situation as not unpleasant: "We are in a good house, kind land lord & lady, who provide plentifully for us & attended us cheerfully . . . our provisions

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 9-10.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 11. Pemberton's Bolton and Evergreen estates also suffered heavily by the British occupation.

⁹⁸ Mary Pemberton to General Howe, September 30, 1777, Early American MSS (University of Pennsylvania).

⁹⁹ A. H. Wharton, *Colonial Days and Dames*, 188.

¹⁰⁰ Pemberton Papers, XXX, 152.

¹⁰¹ James Pemberton's Journal, Pemberton Papers, XXXII, 58.

well dres'd. We eat together in a spacious parlour, . . ." ¹⁰² The people and militia at Winchester vehemently protested against the lieutenant allowing the Quakers to remain in town, giving in only when he promised to maintain a strict guard over them. In a few days, however, the people grew less suspicious, and the guards escorted the prisoners about the town and countryside. ¹⁰³ Within two weeks the Quakers had so removed the local prejudices that they were no longer in danger of abuse, and the guards, feeling that they were wasting their time guarding pacifists, went home to perform the work on their farms. ¹⁰⁴

The Quakers were soon traveling a day's distance from Winchester to visit Meetings and to see old friends. They held Meetings in the parlor of their landlord's house, soon drawing over one hundred worshipers from the town and countryside. ¹⁰⁵ Upon arriving in Virginia, the Quakers had solicited the aid of Governor Patrick Henry in attaining their release, but the only reply came through orders to the commanding officer at Winchester to see that they were properly protected. ¹⁰⁶ A few weeks after arriving, the Friends learned that they would be compelled to support themselves under a ruling of the Board of War. Israel Pemberton explained that the refusal of the government to provide for them was a great hardship upon some of the prisoners who could not afford to support themselves in idleness and take care of their families in Philadelphia. ¹⁰⁷

Just when Israel Pemberton had cause to believe that their fortune might turn and release be granted them, word came from York, Pennsylvania, that the Board of War had ordered their removal to Staunton. The reason given for this sudden decision was that Owen Jones, one of the Quaker prisoners, through friends at Lancaster had been "exchanging gold at a most extravagant Premium for paper money" causing the continental currency to fall sharply in value. ¹⁰⁸ There is every reason to believe that there ex-

¹⁰² Pemberton Papers, XXX, 154.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, XXX, 163.

¹⁰⁴ James Pemberton's Journal, Pemberton Papers, XXXII, 59.

¹⁰⁵ Israel Pemberton to John Reynell, October 12, 1777, Haverford College MSS.

¹⁰⁶ To the Governor of Virginia from Israel Pemberton et al., October 1, 1777; Israel Pemberton to John Reynell, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁷ Pemberton Papers, XXX, 182.

¹⁰⁸ *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, V, 74. The receivers at Lancaster were reputed to have been John Mercer [Musser], Matthias Slough, and Matthias Graeff. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, I, 37-38.

isted some foundation for the charge, for the market in Virginia for continental paper was relatively good, and the wealthy Quakers among the exiles were undoubtedly making the most of the opportunity. In October, Israel Pemberton had written to John Reynell for money explaining that the Virginia market permitted him to "dispose of a larger sum to better advantage here than you, I think, can there," and added that Reynell might also send any continental paper which the Pennsylvania Hospital wished to have invested.¹⁰⁹ In a letter to Mary, dated November 12, Israel asked her to send \$1,000 or more in continental money in view of the good terms available in Virginia.¹¹⁰ It is doubtful, however, that the Quakers were doing enough business to produce an appreciable effect upon the currency. Pemberton called the charge "frivolous" explaining that Jones had sent only sixteen half Johannes to Lancaster for currency. The whole affair, he declared, was trumped up by "Lee [Richard Henry Lee?] and Dick Peters."¹¹¹

The Board of War stipulated that at Staunton the prisoners should be kept under constant guard, prohibited from using pen and ink, and deprived the privilege of having visitors.¹¹² The exiles now called upon every means within their power to have the order of the Board of War rescinded. Appeals were sent to Congress, the Executive Council, and the Governor of Virginia. Most of the work of writing the addresses was assumed by Israel Pemberton¹¹³ who endeavored to convince Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia that the exiles were now in his charge, and that the Board of War had no jurisdiction over them inasmuch as they were not prisoners of war.¹¹⁴ But in answer, Governor Henry instructed the officer in charge of the prisoners to carry out strictly the orders of the Board of War.¹¹⁵

Israel Pemberton found an able and sympathetic young lawyer in the person of Alexander White of Virginia, who offered to go to

¹⁰⁹ Israel Pemberton to John Reynell, October 12, 1777, Haverford College MSS.

¹¹⁰ Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 20.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXXI, 74. "Dick" Peters was the son of William Peters, the brother of the Proprietary secretary.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, XXXI, 32, 60.

¹¹³ Israel to Mary Pemberton, December 19, 1777, December 22, 1777, Friends' Book Store, R.S. 574; Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 75.

¹¹⁴ To the Governor and Council of Virginia, December 22, 1777, Cox, Parrish, Wharton Collection, XIV.

¹¹⁵ Pemberton Papers, XXXII, 60.

York, Pennsylvania, where Congress had taken refuge and seek a revocation of the order. Confident of success, White lost no time in launching his campaign, and soon Israel Pemberton received a letter from White desiring the Quakers to permit him to assure Congress that they would agree not to communicate with the enemy if set free. There would be no implication in this of previous treasonable activity, White believed, because of the fact that the Quakers would be in a position to give information to the enemy if allowed to return to Philadelphia while the British occupied it.¹¹⁶ White soon had conferences with the Pennsylvania delegates, of whom Morris, Duane, and Mifflin were open minded and sympathetic toward the Quakers.¹¹⁷ Soon the memorial from the exiles was brought under consideration, and the whole question of the banishment reopened.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, the officer in charge of the transfer of the prisoners to Staunton agreed to allow them to remain in Winchester until Congress acted upon the petition against the order of the Board of War.¹¹⁹

But Congress hesitated to take any action, and before long Alexander White quite despaired of any good arising from his mission. Finally, however, after a trip to Lancaster to see the Executive Council, the latter body wrote Congress that it considered the Quakers to be the prisoners of Congress, and inasmuch as it was doubtful that any good had resulted from their banishment, the Council would undertake to recommend their enlargement.¹²⁰ White then pressed Congress to act upon the Council's recommendation and, feeling that he had done all within his means, returned to Virginia. Israel Pemberton believed that their enemies were too strong and that they had failed again. He comforted his wife by informing her that they would have a better house in Staunton and that the town contained quite a number of citizens of the better class who would afford them a cordial reception.¹²¹

It was apparent by this time that neither Congress nor the Council wished to claim the prisoners, both declaring that they belonged

¹¹⁶ Israel to Mary Pemberton, December 22, 1777; White to Pemberton, December 20, 1777, Friends' Book Store, R.S. 574.

¹¹⁷ White to Pemberton, December 26, 1777, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁸ Mary to Israel Pemberton, January 7, 1778, Friends' Book Store, R.S. 574.

¹¹⁹ Pemberton Papers, XXXII, 61.

¹²⁰ Henry Drinker to his wife, January 12, 1778, Haverford College MSS.

¹²¹ Israel to Mary Pemberton, January 15, 1778, *loc. cit.*

to the other. Neither body now professed to have anything against the exiles except the public statements issued July 1776, opposing independence and the epistles admonishing Quakers against participating in or supporting the war.¹²² This supports the opinion held by the exiles that one of the main reasons for their banishment was their influence over Quaker youths who might otherwise have supported the war.¹²³ While Congress was considering the Quaker petition, a new Board of War was appointed headed by General Horatio Gates, who presently rescinded the order for the removal of the exiles to Staunton.¹²⁴ Meanwhile, Congress, lobbied by Quakers from Pennsylvania and Maryland, grew more skeptical of the justification for the exile.¹²⁵

Israel Pemberton never gave Alexander White any reason to believe that he would accept anything less than full enlargement without commitments. Congress, however, decided late in January that any of the prisoners who would take an oath or affirmation of allegiance would be promptly discharged.¹²⁶ Israel wrote Mary that some of his fellow exiles were inclined to accept the offer, while some were "so weak as to think of an exchange being made of us for some of those in your city; . . ." ¹²⁷

Late in January, an epidemic of sickness struck Winchester which did not spare the exiles. Thomas Gilpin, a seemingly strong, middle-aged man "caught a violent cold," had a relapse after a slight recovery, and died.¹²⁸ Soon John Hunt, old and infirm, felt a numbness in his left leg which developed into a pain and fever.¹²⁹ Israel Pemberton, Samuel Pleasants and others were attacked by various complaints, mostly accompanied by a fever. The town doctor believed the epidemic to be the severest he had known at Winchester, and the exiles yearned for the coming of better weather, "as to enable us to mount our Horses or get into a Chaise, that we may gain strength by a little proper Exercise & breathing the sweet air

¹²² *Ibid.*; Pemberton Papers, XXXII, 62.

¹²³ James Pemberton's Journal, Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 83.

¹²⁴ Pemberton Papers, XXXII, 61.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*; Israel to Mary Pemberton, January 26, 1778, *loc. cit.*; Petition to Congress, January 27, 1778, Cox, Parrish, Wharton Collection; Henry Drinker to his wife, January 25, 1778, Haverford College MSS.

¹²⁶ James Pemberton's Journal, Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 83.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXI, 129.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXI, 159.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

abroad.”¹³⁰ By March 16, John Hunt was dying from mortification of the leg, Edward Pennington was quite disarranged in mind, and the health of all was much impaired. Finally, the doctor amputated John Hunt’s leg, and he presently died. The long strain and recent sickness were too much for most of them, and one by one they were crumbling under it all. Israel pathetically wrote Mary: “I am become a poor weak old man. . . .”¹³¹

When the wives, children, relatives, and friends heard of sickness and death overtaking the exiles, they were quite overcome with grief and anxiety. Believing that they must be destitute of the necessities of life and suffering great privations, Mary Pemberton collected a wagon load of provisions, clothes, and medical supplies and appealed to General Washington for a pass and an escort for the supplies. She wrote Washington:

What adds to our distress, in this sorrowful circumstance is the acc’t we have lately received of the removal of one of them by death, and that divers of them are much indisposed, and as we find they are in want of the necessarys proper for sick people we desire the favour of General Washington to grant a protection for one or more wagons, . . .¹³²

Thinking it improper to interfere with the prisoners of Pennsylvania, Washington recommended the granting of the request to President Wharton of the Council who immediately accorded the favor.¹³³ In reality the exiles had everything money could buy in Winchester and were in need of no essentials.

Mary Pemberton (despite her seventy-five years) and three other wives of the exiled men now fearlessly undertook a journey to York to appeal personally to Congress in behalf of their husbands and friends. Reaching Lancaster, they applied to Washington for a permit to proceed to York, but the General again turned the matter over to Wharton, making it plain, however, that he favored granting the request as it was safer to let them proceed than to force them to return. They seemed “much distressed,” wrote Washington, and “humanity pleads strongly in their behalf.”¹³⁴ The women

¹³⁰ Henry Drinker to his wife, March 8, 1778, *loc. cit.*

¹³¹ Pemberton Papers, XXXI, 181.

¹³² Mary Pemberton to General Washington, March 3, 1778, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers; Revolutionary Papers, XX, 57 (Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg).

¹³³ *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, V, 401.

¹³⁴ Washington to Wharton, April 6, 1778, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers.

were politely received at Lancaster by the members of the Executive Council who informed them that it had been decided the day before to release the prisoners.¹³⁵ Congress had persistently refused to claim the prisoners, and at last the Pennsylvania Assembly had advised the Council to release the men.¹³⁶ The banishment had embarrassed rather than strengthened the Council, and they were now anxious to bring the matter to a close.

The exiles were hardly expecting a change in fortune when the welcome news reached Winchester; in fact, Israel Pemberton had but recently sent General Gates a letter soliciting his interposition in their behalf.¹³⁷ Reaching York, Israel was kindly received by General Gates and many Congressmen. At Lancaster he insisted that the Council should either try him for the charges under which he was exiled or repay him the £200 the banishment had cost him. But all the satisfaction he could get was that the Council was determined to have nothing more to do in the matter.¹³⁸

Israel Pemberton's cares were but partly mitigated by his release. He returned to Philadelphia to find his wife's health failing, many Friends suffering imprisonment and loss of property, and his own fortune, due to inflation, transformed into a heavy debt. In June he could see no other prospect than selling much of his property at a great loss.¹³⁹ The estates themselves were but derelicts: Evergreen had been appropriated by the British for quartering purposes, and the floors, doors, windowsills, locks, and everything that could be ripped from the house was gone. Of the woodland only three old trees remained, while the fences had been consumed as firewood and all that remained of the tenant house was the wall. His beautiful Bolton estate in Bucks county was hardly less ravaged.¹⁴⁰

With the return of the exiles, the lethargy and diffidence which had overtaken the Quaker Meetings in Philadelphia were dispelled. Many Quakers were languishing in jails throughout the state for various alleged political offenses; but now under the stimulus of the returned men vigorous protests were launched, committees were

¹³⁵ Pemberton Papers, XXXII, 29, 48.

¹³⁶ Henry Drinker to his wife, April 14, 1778, *loc. cit.*

¹³⁷ Pemberton Papers, XXXII, 32.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 75.

¹³⁹ Pemberton Papers, XXXII, 76.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XXXI, 162.

sent to the Council at Lancaster, and epistles were written to the Meetings throughout the state calling for joint action.¹⁴¹

Israel Pemberton expected daily to find reimprisonment facing him. Already someone had requested a justice of the peace to force the test upon him, but the judge happened to be a friendly neighbor and refused. "But there are other magistrates of a different disposition," Israel wrote to Joseph, "& as I cannot take it, a constant confinement in jail will be my position, which former experience hath taught me is far to be prefer'd to the violation of the Dictates of the light of truth in my own breast."¹⁴² A few months later, however, Quakers felt relieved when the Assembly resolved to repeal the force of the Test Act upon the Society of Friends, although double taxes and varying forms of persecution and annoyances continued to make their role as neutrals not an easy one.¹⁴³

But for Israel Pemberton the cares and perplexities of life were nearly ended. In October his wife died. His grandson, Israel, son of Joseph, was dying from what was undoubtedly tuberculosis of the bone. Israel himself was sinking fast. Writing to Joseph, he cautioned him to

Read the new Testament frequently with a mind humbly desirous of divine aid, to enable thee to take up the cross & practice the precepts of the Gospel & thou wilt have renewing of strength which I desire more for thee than any temporal acquisitions, though such are desirable & useful in their places. . . .¹⁴⁴

Israel's health failed much faster after Mary's death, and in the middle of April 1779, he was taken by a fever and, on the twenty-second, died. Israel Pemberton had found his peace at last. His funeral was attended by friends of all denominations from all parts of the city and the countryside and was reported to have been the largest in the memory of citizens.

Thus ended the life of a man, who, more than any other, molded the thoughts and directed the course of American Quakerism during its years of greatest trial and opposition. Ostensibly his leader-

¹⁴¹ Thomas Lightfoot to Israel Pemberton, September 20, 1778, Parrish Collection: Pemberton Papers; Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, II, 116.

¹⁴² Pemberton Papers, XXXII, 97.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 139; James Pemberton to David Barclay, December 12, 1779, Friends' Book Store, R.S. 820, 27.

¹⁴⁴ Pemberton Papers, XXXII, 124.

ship and prominence rests largely upon the fact that he lacked so many of the qualities of a good Quaker. Politically his work was one failure following another in a hopeless effort to preserve Quaker leadership against a mounting tide of opposition. His great work in Indian affairs was too enlightened for the age and doomed to failure; his tireless effort to demonstrate the efficacy and power of pacifism over war had failed to preserve peace in Pennsylvania. However, the Quakers of Israel Pemberton's generation contributed much to the development of republican government and the rights of persons and minorities. In the realm of social reform their contribution was considerable and was one of the principal fountains from which American humanitarian progress has drawn. To contemporaries, Israel Pemberton was known as the "King of the Quakers," and the history of American Quakerism during its most energetic period is inextricably interwoven with the man whose first consideration was always for the welfare of the Society of Friends.

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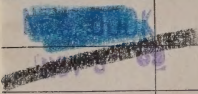

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